California Journal

A MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Criminal Justice Council

Senate Pro Tem James Mills

Statewide Property Tax Proposed

18-Year Vote Passes Senate

California's Political Parties

Reagan's Welfare Reform Plan: Problems and Prospects

March 1971 in Review

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Editor's Note

With this issue we launch a new feature, Newsbriefs, the primary purpose of which is to provide readers with more extensive coverage of events during the previous month. It will also serve to update in-depth articles we have written in the past in which new developments not meriting full-scale coverage can be brought to the reader's attention.

* * *

All too often the complexity and day-by-day evolution of today's issues discourages us from following every turn of events and new policy proposal. "No, not another story on welfare," we moan and put it aside. Our lead article, however, is not just another on welfare. Written by Jeff Davis and Jerry Evans, the article reports on Governor Reagan's welfare reform proposals which, if nothing else, represent an enormously detailed attack on every facet of this monumental problem and in the process presents a comprehensive view of the problem, proposals for its solution, and debate over the proposals.

* * *

James Mills was most cooperative when we interviewed him for this issue. The last time we interviewed a Senate President pro Tem, he was voted out of office between the time of the interview and the date of our publication. Senator Mills generously agreed to do all he could to stay in office until this issue is out and even longer, if possible.

* * *

Our second interview this month is with the recently departed deputy director of the Coordinating Council for Higher Education, Dr. Willard B. Spalding. As Bill Trombley, education writer for the *Los Angeles Times* has said, Spalding was a "salty old dog" among California's educational leaders and will be sorely missed by those who were aware of his contribution to higher education in this state. It is not without significance that Spalding, who worked hard to make the council an effective agent for coordination and rational development in California, remarked on leaving that this was the most disappointing experience of a career that has spanned many aspects of education in this country.

* * *

Thomas Jesse Goff, who authored the article on the state's political party structure, has been helping us for several months now. Between going to law school at the University of California, Davis, winning moot court awards, and editing the law school newspaper, he managed to find time to attend the party conventions and do the research for the article.

California Journal

1108 O Street, Sacramento, California 95814
916/444-2840

EDITOR
Thomas R. Hoeber

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Jerome Evans

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
Judson Clark, William Geyer

Assistant Editors:
Ann B. Jenkins, Beverly W. Lane
Washington Correspondent: Lou Cannon
Counsel: Conrad Klein
Assistant to the Editor: Shirley Biondi
Subscription Manager: Gay Clark

California Journal/Information Service
Quick Query Service
G. L. Sherwood, Director
916/444-0329

Southern California Representative
Robert Ramsay
750 S. Golden West Avenue
Arcadia, California 91006
213/446-8316 (Evenings)

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Eugene C. Lee Chairman	Director, Institute of Governmental Studies Professor of Political Science Univ. of California, Berkeley
Houston Flournoy	Controller, State of California
Richard W. Gable	Chairman, Department of Political Science Associate Director, Institute of Governmental Affairs Univ. of California, Davis
Carma R. Leigh	State Librarian of California
Anne Rudin	President, California League of Women Voters
Rus Walton	Writer
John Whelan	Professor of Law Univ. of California, Davis
Alan J. Wyner	Professor of Political Science Univ. of Calif., Santa Barbara

The interpretation and analysis of people and events in *California Journal* are not necessarily those of members of the Advisory Committee; they are not responsible for any articles, signed or unsigned, which appear in its pages.

March, 1971 Volume II, Number 3

Copyright 1971 by California Journal, 1108 "O" Street, Sacramento, California 95814; Judson Clark, President; Thomas R. Hoeber, Vice President; Jerome Evans, Treasurer; William Geyer, Secretary. Rates are based on membership of clients and will be furnished on request. Second class postage paid at Sacramento, California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents: March in Review

Governor Reagan's Welfare Reform: Plans, Problems and Prospects 60

Underneath the Governor's heavy rhetoric, he proposes an extensive series of reforms aimed at holding down state and county welfare costs as an alternative to the major restructuring proposed by Democrats and the Nixon administration.

Criminal Justice Council—Promise vs. Performance 64

Hailed in 1967 as a major device for strengthening law enforcement, the courts and corrections, the council has so far failed to become more than a pipeline for federal spending.

Interview: Senator James Mills Discusses the Office of President Pro Tem 66

Senator Mills, in the third month of his first term of office, talks about his election to the Pro Tem post, his new responsibilities, and the manner in which the Senate is likely to deal with some of the issues which will come before it this session.

Senate Approves 18-year Old Vote 69

The Senate reverses its 1970 position and approves a reduction in the minimum voting age to 18 years, as both Legislature and the Congress move rapidly toward resolution of this issue.

California's Political Parties: An Introduction 70

First in a series of articles exploring the structure, history, resources, and leadership of California's political parties.

Statewide Property Tax Proposed to Aid Schools 72

Support grows for adoption of a statewide property tax to equalize school funding, but the chances for passage remain slight.

Women's Commission Faces Funding Struggle 74

The State Advisory Commission on the Status of Women, due to expire June 30th, issues its third report and hopes for a legislative reprieve.

New Approach to State Planning 75

A private group attacks the problem of statewide planning with a "sketch plan" of the alternatives facing the state.

Interview: Dr. Willard B. Spalding 76

The former director and deputy director of the Coordinating Council of Higher Education discusses the current state of higher education in California.

Newsletters Provide Specialized State News 84

Letter from Washington by Lou Cannon 83
Newsbriefs 86
People in the News 89
California Calendar 88
Voting Record 89
State Government & Reports 90

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Governor Reagan's Welfare Reform: Plans, Problems and Prospects

"The crisis in Welfare and Medi-Cal presents a challenge to all Californians. We simply cannot sit idly by and do nothing to prevent an uncontrolled upward spiralling of the welfare caseload, as most other states and the federal government appear resigned to do. The whole system itself is about to collapse, nationwide, from the burden it is placing on the taxpayer each year. Worse, it guarantees to do so year after year if it goes unchecked and unreformed.

Additionally, the system does not adequately provide for the truly needy. Virtually everywhere in California the truly needy are barely subsisting, many below the poverty line, while thousands of the less needy with other sources of income and various exemptions and disregards are getting a disproportionate share of the available money."

With these words and in what he repeatedly called the "lengthiest, most detailed and specific legislative message ever originated by a California governor," Governor Reagan on March 13th, set out his welfare reform plan. His "legislative message" was presented in the form of a printed report and a speech in Los Angeles, following Senate President pro Tem James Mills' decision not to grant the Governor a special joint session of the Legislature to hear his message.

On March 15th the legislation itself was introduced in the form of three welfare bills, SB 544, 545, 546 (Burgener and Marler), and one Medi-Cal bill AB 949 (Campbell and Monagan).

According to Welfare Director Robert Carleson, about one-third of the proposed savings from the reform plan require state legislation. The balance is to be obtained by administrative action.

Four Goals

In his report, entitled *Meeting the Challenge: A Responsible Program for Welfare and Medi-Cal Reform,* Reagan established four goals for his reform plan:

1. To increase assistance to the "truly needy who have no where else to turn to meet their basic needs;"
2. To require welfare recipients who are employable" to seek work, enroll in job training, or take a temporary public assistance job in order to obtain welfare benefits;
3. To strengthen family financial responsibility;
4. To reduce Medi-Cal benefits to "an equal footing with the health care benefits available to our working men and women who must pay their own health care needs themselves".

To achieve these goals, the Governor's plan has two major ingredients: a reduction of welfare growth rates through tighter eligibility requirements and increased emphasis upon employment, and the closing of "all possible legal loopholes that lead to abuse".

But to understand the true scope and impact of the Governor's plan it is useful to divide it into its six principle elements: (1) separation and simplification of aid to the aged, blind, and disabled; (2) changes in eligibility and benefits under Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); (3) the closing of various "loopholes" in eligibility and benefit provisions; (4) a procedure for periodically adjusting benefit levels, termed "equitable apportionment"; (5) employment programs; and (6) restrictions on the use of Medi-Cal benefits.

1. Aid to the Aged, Blind, and Disabled

Income maintenance programs for the aged, the blind, and the disabled — Old Age Security (OAS), Aid to the Blind (AB) and Aid to the Totally Disabled (ATD) — are expected to cover 535,000 persons in 1970-71 at a total cost of $333 million for direct aid and social services. Beginning in 1971-72, this is to become a federal-state responsibility with the counties no longer required to share in the costs of these programs. It also is proposed that the state will take over their administration from the counties, with the objective of simplifying the eligibility determination and payment systems. Eventually (it may take at least two years) payments to OAS, AB, and ATD recipients are to be automated.

In addition, the definition of "totally disabled" under ATD is to be returned to what it was before 1965. It is the administration's position that the extension of aid in that year to persons who suffer impairments which "substantially preclude the individual from engaging in useful occupations within his competence", went too far, as did increased reliance upon the individual to evaluate his own disability. By going back to the pre-1965 standards it is expected that the potential ATD rolls will be reduced by 16,300 in 1971-72. The savings are to be distributed among those who remain eligible.

"One million children depend on the monthly welfare check for food, clothing and a place to sleep. One half of these, some one-half million children, live in families which have no other income except welfare."

Senator George Moscone

---

2. Changes in AFDC Eligibility and Benefits

At the heart of Reagan's welfare reform plan are a series of proposals which are aimed at tightening welfare eligibility standards, thus reducing both the number of persons who will receive welfare assistance and the amounts of aid for which others will become eligible.

As a first step, the determination as to an applicant's basic eligibility for welfare is to be separated from computation of his grant. In this way it is believed that various special one-time needs and income exemptions, which may be used to establish grant levels, will not also be used to determine eligibility, as they are at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

present, allowing some with adequate incomes to nevertheless qualify for welfare. Additionally, an effort will be made to make eligibility decisions more nearly uniform throughout the state.

Second, in determining the welfare grant for each individual, all indirect income will be valued and counted as regular income, reducing the assistance required to bring the individual up to the "needs standard". Some indirect income is already taken into account, but two major sources, food stamps and federal housing subsidies, are not, according to welfare officials. There is now no adjustment in a recipient's grant if she or he receives food stamps, thus increasing his purchasing power for food, or a housing subsidy, which will enable him to get better housing at less cost. The Governor's view is that California's needs standards (calculations of what an individual needs in the way of income) are sufficiently high that this other assistance should not be added on top.

Third, and closely related, is the proposal to count virtually all types of income in determining both eligibility and grant requirements. At present, "casual and inconsequential" income is exempted, as is income which is paid out to settle debts under court order. According to the administration, taxpayers are now required to subsidize "the spend-thrift who lives beyond his income" and then finds his wages attached by court order to pay his debt. Abuse can also arise, the Governor says, when "a young artist or craftsman on welfare sells his work on the street for significant 'casual and inconsequential'" income.

Fourth, the administration will seek legislation to permit the averaging of recurring "special needs", which are now determined case by case, to establish each individual AFDC grant. A flat grant will be provided to cover such items as telephone, laundry, and transportation, and will be financed by state and federal funds. Remaining one-time special needs of recipients will be financed by the counties and the federal government.

Fifth, unemployment for those who apply for aid under the AFDC-U (unemployed father) program is to be defined according to the federal standard rather than the more liberal state standard. At present, a person may be unemployed by the state's definition if he works less than 35 hours per week. The federal standard is now less than 30 hours per week and is going down to less than 25 hours per week. Under the proposed new regulations, the state will follow the federal definition.

Sixth, new regulations will limit the amount of "training" which an AFDC (adult) recipient can receive to a maximum of two years beyond high school and will limit AFDC eligibility for "children" to those under 18. These regulations are intended to halt college students from using AFDC payments as a form of financial assistance and to keep AFDC mothers from claiming benefits based upon "children" who are 18 to 20-years-old and may be receiving another form of aid themselves.

Residency and citizenship requirements are also to be made tighter in order to stop the payment of welfare benefits to recipients and their children who have

(Continued on next page)

Governor's Task Force Developed Recommendations

In August of 1970, anticipating reelection to a second term and concerned about the lack of action to deal with rising welfare expenditures, Governor Reagan appointed a welfare task force to find out "What's wrong with welfare?" The Governor placed no explicit constraints on the task force; however, it was clearly to be guided by the Governor's often expressed charges of "runaway" costs and welfare abuses.

The task force was made up of six administration officials and nine persons outside government. The Governor appointed Ned Hutchinson, his appointments secretary, as task force leader. Three other members — Jerry Fielder, Director of the State Department of Agriculture; John Mayfield, Deputy Director of the Department of Conservation; and Robert Carlson, Deputy Director of the State Department of Public Works — were chosen on the basis of the recommendation of their agency secretaries. Jack A. Svahn and Ronald A. Zumbum, both of Public Works, were subsequently assigned to assist Carlson. The nine private members included three attorneys, three financial experts, and three business men, all from the Los Angeles area.

The task force chose to divide its efforts into state, county and federal problem areas. Carlson took responsibility for the state laws; Mayfield, because of his county background, was in charge of local issues; and Fielder tackled the federal laws and policies. The nine private members focused on various aspects of AFDC.

The task force's study had three major elements: analysis of state and federal laws and regulations regarding welfare, particularly AFDC; a review of the findings and recommendations of other recent studies (such as the County Supervisors Association's *Time for Change)*, and extensive interviews with state and local officials charged with policy-making and administration in the welfare field. Some 700 interviews were conducted for the purpose of obtaining individual answers to the questions, "What's wrong with the welfare system?" and "What changes would you recommend?"

In November the task force met to go over its findings, and in December it began to turn those findings over to the Governor's office (thus precluding outside scrutiny of the interview data). The Department of Social Welfare was then assigned the task of drawing the material together in the form of recommendations, with the appropriate cost data. During January and February representatives of the department, the Governor's Office, the Department of Finance, and the Cabinet prepared the report which became the Governor's reform plan.

Also in February, one of the task force members, Robert Carlson, was appointed Director of Social Welfare, replacing Robert Martin. Carlson brought Svahn and Zumbrun with him as Assistant Director and Deputy Director for Legal Affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SUMMARY OF SAVINGS AND COSTS CLAIMED FOR THE GOVERNOR'S WELFARE REFORM PLAN

According to the data presented in the Governor's report, his welfare reform plan will result in savings to the state in benefit costs ranging from $200.7 million to $282.8 million and savings to the counties in benefit costs ranging from $73.5 million to $148.2 million plus $8.5 million from funding and administrative changes. County officials say they believe the Governor to be sincere in estimating these savings and that they hope he is right. However, they also say that experience with state underfunding of business inventory tax relief, community mental health programs, the "county-option" under Medi-Cal, recent Medi-Cal reductions, and flood control projects justifies some skepticism on their part. Governor Reagan has stated on several occasions, however, that his plan has been designed to protect the counties from any cost shifts from the state, and when pressed on the point he has given his personal assurance that there will be no increase in taxes for county taxpayers as a consequence of his proposal.

The following are the highlights of the various savings and costs in benefits and administration claimed for the Governor's plan.

State Savings in Benefit Costs. The Governor's Budget for 1971-72 assumes savings of $220 million through administrative and legislative reforms. This figure is based upon an estimated cost of $868 million for welfare benefits in the absence of the proposed reforms. As a result of the more recent cost estimates used in the Governor's report, however, benefit costs in the absence of cutbacks are now estimated at $831 million, or $37 million less, due to unforeseen reductions in the average cost per beneficiary. This means that the Governor's plan must produce savings of $183 million, rather than $220 million, before any savings can be put back into grant increases as the administration has promised.

The following are the principal state savings items:

1. Redefinition of "totally disabled" for Aid to the Totally Disabled	$11.7 million to $16.0 million
2. Changes in AFDC eligibility and benefits:	
Separation and uniformity in eligibility determinations	$18.9 million to $28.0 million
Deductions for indirect ("in-kind") income	$27 million to $41.9 million
Averaging and reclassification of special needs	$12.1 million to $17.6 million
Adoption of the federal definition of unemployment	$10.4 million to $11.3 million
Reductions in training support and age ceiling	$8.1 million
Changes in residency requirements and disqualification of aliens	$27.4 million to $27.6 million
Work-related expenses and ceiling on gross spendable income	$8.7 million to $22.7 million
3. Closing of loopholes"	
Family responsibility changes	$39.8 million to $51.3 million
Other loopholes	$16.5 million to $27.2 million
4. Audits and administrative changes	$20.1 million to $31.1 million
Total State Savings	$200.7 million to $282.8 million

County Savings in Benefit Costs

1. Redefinition of "totally disabled" for ATD (possible cost increase)	($33 million to $12.8 million)
2. Changes in AFDC eligibility and benefits	$33.7 million to $43.7 million
3. Closing of loopholes:	$33.2 million to $47.1 million
4. Audits, administrative changes, and reduction in social services to federal minimum	$39.6 million to $70.2 million
Total Savings	$73.5 million to $148.2 million

State and County Administrative and Funding Changes. All but five counties (Kings, Merced, Solano, Sonoma and Yuba) are expected to share in new administrative and funding changes totaling $47.5 million, of which the counties will receive $8.5 million in 1971-72. The state intends to defer the planned increase in the county share of AFDC costs in those five counties so that they will suffer no loss in 1971-72.

The proposed changes and the estimated county savings (costs) are:

1. State funding of Aid to the Blind and Old Age Security eligibility determination	$52.2 million
2. State funding of Aid to the Totally Disabled	$41.5 million
3. State support for AFDC eligibility determinations	$38.0 million
4. Increase in county share of AFDC grants to 50 percent of nonfederal cost	($84.2 million)
Net county savings	$47.5 million
Phased implementation of proposed changes	—39.0 million
1971-72 County Savings	$ 8.5 million

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

left the state for an extended period and to aliens who have entered the country illegally. The state will also push for federal legislation to make the federal government fully responsible for all welfare payments to legal aliens.

Finally, a ceiling will be placed on all work-related expenses and other deductions from current income which are allowed working welfare recipients in figuring their grants. Gross spendable income from all sources — welfare, part-time employment, etc. — will be limited to 150 percent of the "needs standard" set by state regulation. The intent is to maintain an incentive for welfare recipients to seek employment, while discouraging others with adequate income from obtaining welfare support.

3. Closing Other "Loopholes"

In addition to the foregoing changes in eligibility and benefits for the AFDC program, the Governor's welfare reform plan promises to close a number of "loopholes" which it believes represent "a shocking perversion of the original intent of the public assistance programs." Some of these loopholes pertain to what the Governor calls "reinforcing family responsibility", others are more generally applicable.

Under the term "reinforcing family responsibility", the administration proposes to increase the incentive for county officials to track down absent fathers of AFDC children so as to obtain greater support contributions from those fathers. It will do so by permitting the counties to keep a larger proportion (75 percent) of the collections they obtain in this manner. In addition, certain legal and administrative changes are proposed to support this effort, including a more efficient central registry of identifying data for all parents.

Other related measures are aimed at making it more difficult for unwed pregnant minors from families of sufficient means to get on welfare in order to obtain a Medi-Cal financed therapeutic abortion. An effort will be made to obtain greater support con-contributions from step-fathers in AFDC families, to obtain greater reimbursements for child protective services, to increase required support from relatives of OAS recipients, and to increase the amount of money which can be recovered from a welfare recipient's estate after his death.

"Most of these are people who either through lack of basic education or lack of any kind of motivation, lack of any job skill, or maybe just because they don't want to work — these are the welfare recipients."

Governor Reagan

The administration has made much recently of individual cases in which persons with adequate annual income nevertheless obtain welfare for that portion of the year when they are not actually working. To close this loophole it is proposed, in determining eligibility, to average an applicant's income forward over the year against the need standard, so that "excess" income in one month will be applied against the next. New legislation and regulations are also proposed to discourage those who would use leaves of absence from work, lump sum income, understated withholding exemptions, multiple eligibility, income exemptions, income from real property, understated automobile valuation, and personal property exemptions either to achieve eligibility or to increase their benefits.

Additionally, the administration intends to intensify its audit investigations to discover overpayments which may be due to error or fraud. The Social Welfare Department's audit staff is to be increased by 75 percent.

4. Equitable Apportionment

Under the present welfare system, AFDC grants are based upon "need standards" which are simply the estimated income requirements of AFDC recipients according to the number of children in each family and other circumstances. California has kept its need standards relatively high, but it has not for some time actually paid AFDC beneficiaries what the standards say they need.

Instead, in order to hold total welfare costs down, a payment ceiling has been established by the Legislature arbitrarily limiting the total amount that any recipient family may receive. This ceiling is somewhat confusingly called the Maximum Participating Base, and it has been a source of continuing controversy because of the administration's unwillingness to raise it as required by federal law (See *California Journal*, November 1970, page 314). Federal authorities have said that California might raise its maximum payment ceiling and then apply a "rateable reduction" (an across-the-board percentage cut) to bring actual costs back down to current levels. The Reagan administration first refused, saying this was pure "gimickry", then proposed to do so by administrative ruling rather than legislation, a ruling which the State Supreme Court has declared invalid with respect to the rateable reduction.

Now, however, the Governor proposes to do away entirely with the Maximum Participating Base (payment ceiling) and adopt his own form of rateable reduction. It is to be called the "equitable apportionment". It simply means, for example, that in matching available revenues to caseload figures and need standards for the coming year, the state will decide what percentage of computed needs it can actually pay to all recipients — 90 percent, 80 percent, 75 percent, or whatever.

The equitable apportionment is to be adjusted each quarter to take into account any savings which may occur (as a result of "reform" measures, for example), or, on the other hand, any unanticipated increase in costs as a consequence of higher caseloads, etc. The actual level of payments can then be raised or lowered so that the program as a whole will remain within its budget, but with the possibility of passing net savings along to recipients in the form of an upward adjustment in the apportionment percentage.

In this way the state will be able to maintain its "closed-end" budget for welfare, although at the expense of the recipients. If the number of persons receiving welfare swells beyond budget estimates, there will be an across-the-board cut in every recipient's benefits, with, of course, larger dollar reductions for those with larger benefits (the Governor's "truly needy"). It will not be necessary, however, to bring the whole program to a halt awaiting emergency funding from the Legislature.

(Continued on page 78)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Criminal Justice Council: Promise vs. Performance

BY JEROME EVANS AND DIANE FRIEDMAN

"California, with the help of the federal government, has launched the largest statewide assault on crime in history — namely the program of the California Council on Criminal Justice."

— The California Council on Criminal Justice

In 1967, Senator George Deukmejian of Long Beach was selected as the architect of the Reagan administration's proposed program to combat crime in California. His mandate was to develop proposals which would give credence to the hard line on law and order espoused by the Governor during the 1966 election campaign. The resulting anti-crime package concentrated heavily on increasing penalties for crimes of violence, but it also permitted Deukmejian to revive a proposal he had presented with little success two years earlier.

That proposal was to establish a statewide blue-ribbon council on crime backed by a special crime research foundation. In 1967, with the backing of Governor Reagan, it was an idea whose time had come. Two years of violence in the nation's ghettos and on university campuses was spurring action in Washington and in the states on a variety of proposals related to law enforcement. The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice had completed its study and issued a report entitled *The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society*. The report concluded that a significant reduction in crime was possible by upgrading state and local police forces, modernizing police methods, and improving the collection and reporting of crime statistics, a theme echoed by Deukmejian in his proposal.

When the Deukmejian-Moretti Act, as it became titled, came before the Legislature in 1967, the indications were clear that Congress was preparing to send a substantial amount of federal funding to the states for combatting crime. Accordingly, the responsibility to utilize these funds for a major coordinated effort to reverse the growing crime problem was handed to the proposed new council.

Initiative

The California Council on Criminal Justice, which Deukmejian proposed, was to take the initiative in California by:

(1) Evaluating state and local programs associated with the prevention of crime, law enforcement and the administration of criminal justice;

(2) Encouraging the preparation and adoption of comprehensive plans for the improvement and coordination of all aspects of law enforcement and criminal justice; and

(3) Stimulating research and development in new methods for the prevention and reduction of crime.

As a spur to necessary research, the Deukmejian bill provided for the creation of a unique entity in California government, a public corporation to develop new scientific and technological improvements for the prevention and detection of crime. Such a body was needed, according to the act, because the benefits of these advances "have with cunning rapidity been adopted for use by criminals."

Four Years Later

Now, four years later, with a new federal allocation of $33 million for 1970-71 and projected funding of an additional $44 million for 1971-72, the California Council on Criminal Justice is in the unusual circumstance in this tight budget year of having more money than it has been able to spend. In fact, $8 million of its $17 million 1969-70 allocation still remains to be distributed. (Fortunately for the commission, these federal funds have a three-year life; whatever goes unspent the first year may be spent during the following two fiscal years).

Federal Grants to California under the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968

	Planning Grants	Action Grants
1968-69	$ 1,387,900	$ 2,351,610
1969-70	1,566,000	17,287,000
1970-71	2,090,000	32,999,000
1971-72 (estimated)	2,957,000	44,132,000

More to the point, the council has failed to develop a plan for strengthening criminal justice in California. Nor has it stimulated effective planning on the local level. Rather than becoming an agency for drawing together and substantially upgrading criminal justice activities throughout the state, it has developed into little more than a conduit for passing federal funds to local jurisdictions. The council's own staff, in January 1971, has this to say about the work of the council:

> "From the time of its designation as California's State planning agency in February of 1969, up to July 1, 1970, the Council had provided little leadership in criminal justice planning. The Council, although an aggregation of some of the finest minds in California and representative of major decision-making elements of government and the criminal justice system, had been forced by its own actions to confine its thinking

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and decision-making primarily to relatively minor administrative matters."

Despite such chiding from its staff, there is no evidence of any significant change in recent months.

Composition and Duties

The council consists of 29 members, including the Attorney General, 16 members appointed by the Governor and 12 members appointed by the Legislature. Among the present members are five legislators, two judges, three county supervisors, one police chief and one sheriff, one district attorney, a mayor and a city councilman, three state administrators and the Governor's Legal Affairs Secretary. The council is served by a 44-member staff which is headed by Robert H. Lawson, a career civil servant formerly with the Department of Corrections, who was appointed Executive Director in May of 1970.

The council is charged with responsibility for statewide planning, coordination and strengthening of the police, judicial and correction agencies throughout the state which together make up California's criminal justice system. When Congress subsequently approved the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act and the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control Act in 1968 to provide "block grants" to the states for combatting crime, the CCCJ was designated as California's planning agency for implementing these acts. In this role, the council screens and approves planning and "action" grants submitted by local government agencies for federal matching funds. The federal funds are provided in ratios ranging from $1 to $3 in federal aid for each $1 of local funds.

Grant Funds

The council begins its work each year by developing a "statewide plan" outlining proposed activities for that year. It submits this document to the Law Enforcement Administration (LEAA), the funding agent for the Safe Streets Act, from which it receives in return an allocation for planning and action grants. The federal planning grants, plus $75,000 per year of state funds, cover organization and administrative costs at the state and regional levels. Up to 25 percent of the federal action grant funds may be allocated to statewide programs.

CCCJ Grant Approvals by Subject — 1968-69 and 1969-70

	1968-69	1969-70
Education and Training	$279,000	$ 835,000
Police Services	452,000	1,341,000
Judicial Process	190,000	774,000
Corrections	260,000	472,000
Juvenile Delinquency	380,000	1,701,000
Narcotics, Drug and Alcohol Abuse	126,000	2,024,000
Organized Crime	20,000	—
Riots and Disorders	507,000	250,000
Science and Technology	7,000	70,000

The action grant funds which CCCJ receives are allocated to nine program categories: education and training; police services; judicial process; corrections; juvenile delinquency; narcotic, drug and alcohol abuse; organized crime; riots and disorders; and science and technology. The nine program areas are further subdivided into a total of 55 subprograms for project funding within each of 11 state regions.

Project Review

The council's staff, 17 regional and subregional advisory boards composed of city and county officials, plus nine special task forces, one for each major program area, aid the council in reviewing and approving project applications. The regional boards provide liaison between local government and the council. If the prospective grant meets with staff, regional, task force and council approval, and if the applicant has the required local matching funds, the federal grant is approved.

An early problem in developing and funding local projects, according to the council, has been an inability or unwillingness on the part of local agencies to raise their share of a project's cost. In response, funding for next year provides for increased federal participation so that nearly all programs will require only 25 percent state and local matching funds, instead of the 40 percent which most projects now require.

The new federal regulations also include a provision requiring state matching funds equal to 25 percent of the nonfederal costs of each action grant. If the state receives $40 million, an appropriation of some $2.4 million will be required. Last summer Governor Reagan, in a letter to the chairman of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee, objected to a then proposed $7 million increase in the state's share, arguing that the state's financial condition simply did not allow it to meet the proposed obligation. What will happen when the state is asked to further increase its participation, beginning July 1, 1972, therefore remains uncertain.

Decentralized Review

This year the staff hopes to shift greater project review responsibility to the county level. Last year the council approved each individual proposal. This year, regional boards will be required to develop their own plans, submit packages of proposals for approval as a unit to the council, and administer the funds granted to local agencies in their regions. According to Executive Director Lawson, this will reduce duplication and offset the lack of coordination between the state and the regions, and it will place more authority in the hands of local governmental bodies. In the future, applicants will go straight to the regional agencies. The council is to act as the state coordinator, interested in long-range planning, strategy, and the strengthening of state agencies.

The first project proposals were accepted by the council in April 1969. A large percentage of the projects have been one-time demonstration projects, expenditures for special communications and other equipment, and temporary, law enforcement staff augmentations. In 1970 the largest grant went to Los Angeles county to consolidate and computerize all law enforcement data within the county. Other projects included $101,440 for a half-way house for female parolees, $66,344 to Isla Vista for an emergency community relations program, $388,083 for a comprehensive drug abuse program in Alamenda County, $202,879 to the City of Los Angeles to improve emergency communications, and $150,000 to help the California Youth Au-

(Continued on page 68)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INTERVIEW

Senator James Mills Discusses The Office of President Pro Tem

Senator James Mills served six years in the Assembly before being elected to the Senate from San Diego and Imperial Counties in 1966. He was elected Senate President pro Tempore on January 5th. California Journal *interviewed Senator Mills in his capitol office March 19th.*

California Journal: Given the fact that the Senate has been in a state of turmoil for the last year or so, why did you want to become President pro Tem?

Senator James Mills: I became a candidate for President pro Tem when, much to everyone's surprise, Democrats picked up a majority in the Senate November 6th. The day following, two different members called up and said, "Jim, we have got to have a candidate for Pro Tem and we thought you'd be the one we could support." These were two different contacts but they said just about the same thing. They hadn't been in touch with each other. We had talked about the possibility of getting 21 votes in the Senate — Democrats had discussed it — but none of us had taken it seriously enough to make plans.

Journal: Right up until the election itself the question of whether or not you would be able to put together enough votes for the election was in some doubt.

Mills: It was in some doubt because the people, I think, expected me to do what other candidates have done and that is to make things sound better than they are. But I have always made it a practice to be very precise about what I say, and when somebody asks a question, to give an exact answer. So when I was asked, I stated what I thought the odds seemed to be at the time, and no one was prepared for that. Everyone expected that I would be a lot more optimistic about my situation than the situation actually justified. But I was telling them exactly the way it was, and they were discounting that substantially and were coming up with false estimates.

Journal: After your election, you made the statement that you had not made any deals to get elected, that you had made some "arrangements." What is the difference between a deal and an arrangement?

Mills: A deal is when each side gets something, or when one person says I'll do this if you'll do that. There wasn't anything of that nature. There were people who talked to me and said they would very much like to be considered for this or for that, and on a couple of occasions, I told people that if I were elected they could definitely anticipate certain appointments. In my opinion, that was not a deal. I was not saying, "I'll do this for you if you'll vote for me." I said if I were elected, I think you are a well qualified person, and I will support you to the best of my ability. I did that, and in each case it turned out that the Rules Committee was willing to accept the position that I had taken, but I think it actually would have been the Rules Committee's position in any case.

Journal: Did you do that in part because the President pro Tem can't really make any deals in the sense of agreeing in advance that somebody is going to have a committee chairmanship?

Mills: Yes, that's right. You can't deliver in certain respects. Some members wanted to be on the reapportionment committee and they asked if I would support them if I were elected. I said that I certainly would, and I did. However, they didn't find themselves on the reapportionment committee. It was not a *quid pro quo;* that is, I asked them for their support, they asked me what my position would be on this, I told them what my position would be, and that was my position whether they voted for me or not.

Journal: What are the powers of the President pro Tem that make it an attractive office?

Mills: He is a member of the Rules Committee and is in a position to do a good deal in terms of assignment of bills and assignment to committees and so forth, and actually, he has more influence than any other single member of the Rules Committee because he has the position of being first in terms of protocol. The other members of the Rules Committee have been very cooperative with me. I think that the tendency has always been for the Rules Committee to try to cooperate with the Pro Tem not to defer to his judgment. I have lost on some votes, but the position gives a person a good deal of abiilty to influence the course of legislation. It's an opportunity to practice the art of politics in a very meaningful way.

Journal: Have the powers of the President pro Tem changed significantly in the last three years since Senator Burns held the office?

Mills: The most important change I can think of is that Senator Burns, or his staff, actually, assigned the bills, whereas today the Rules Commitee as such assigns the bills. So, to that extent, the power of the Pro Tem has been diminished.

Journal: Why has that come about?

Mills: It was a step taken by Senator Way when he was Pro Tem and it was a reaction, I think, to what had existed in the past. There were people who felt the power to assign bills had been used arbitrarily to some extent, so Senator Way thought perhaps the collective wisdom of the committee would be better than decisions made by an individual person and would give the Senate and the public a feeling of confidence that nothing was being done in a clandestine manner.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Journal: Would you like to see that followed?

Mills: I would rather assign bills myself.

Journal: Looking forward to the session, what are the priorities that you think the Senate ought to strive for this year?

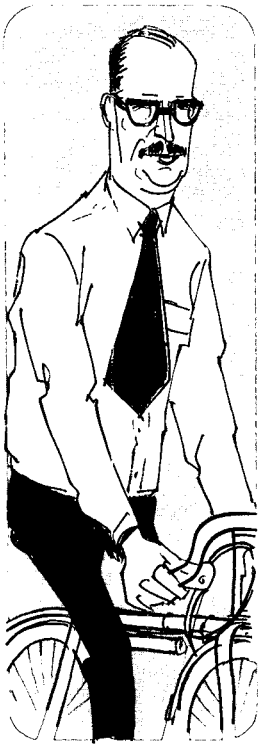
Mills: Welfare reform, tax reform, reform of our transportation policies, and I think we should give a great deal of attention to environmental problems that I think remain much more severe and menacing than the public is aware and more so than most of the members of the Legislature are aware.

Journal: The Governor has taken the initiative on the welfare issue at this stage with the introduction of his program. How will the Legislature respond?

Mills: Well, a great deal of what the Governor proposes to do he can do himself by regulation, and I don't think we will restrict his powers to exercise his authority in those fields. I think we will accept a number of his legislative proposals, and we will just have to wait and see what Congress does and the federal government does. Some of the programs that the Governor has brought up are by no means new, and I think there is general agreement on them. The best example of one that is non-controversial is the proposal that people on the old age rolls or totally disabled rolls be treated like pensioners — that the program as it exists today with a great deal of overhead, a great deal of paper work, a great deal of activity in connection with each group of these individuals could well be phased out and we could have a very efficient means by simply sending them a check.

Journal: Are you approaching the question of the tax package on a joint basis?

Mills: No we are not. On the Senate side, we have a bipartisan task force that is working on the question — at present, working to understand it. But we hope to put together a program that, at least in the basic reform elements, members of both parties can support. The part of the program where we might find partisan differences is in the amount of money to be raised in the tax increase aspects of the program. It might be that ultimately there will be bills which deal with reform separate and apart from bills that increase the state's revenues, in order that the question might be fairly presented to the Governor; that is, we can present him with a budget and bills to finance the budget.


Hugo

Journal: Are the Democrats ultimately going to have to carry the brunt of the responsibility for a tax increase?

Mills: If the Governor can arrange it, we will.

Journal: You turned down the Governor's request for a joint session to present his welfare message and he responded by taking a statewide tour to present his message directly to the people. Now that it's behind you, do you feel that you won or lost on that?

Mills: Oh, I don't know. I don't think it made a lot of difference in terms of winning or losing. I think that very few people understood what was involved. There was a great hue and cry and apparently the Governor didn't understand that it was not a matter of denying him something that is normally granted. The Governor of the State of California has never been welcome before the Legislature except at the opening of the session on the occasion when he presents his State-of-the-State message, and that is a practice that is picked up from the national government, where the President appears at the opening of Congress and not otherwise except to present important messages generally related directly to legislation, where he brings the legislation with him.

This is in turn based upon colonial practices which are based on British practices which are centuries old. Nobody seemed to appreciate the historic precedent or the fact that the Legislature has consistently turned down governors under similar circumstances. Pat Brown was refused the opportunity to appear before the Legislature and some of the old hands around here told me that they were here when Earl Warren was turned down and when Culbert Olson was turned down. The reason we don't allow it, the reason the Legislature has never allowed it, is that we do not want to have the Governor appearing in the Legislature attempting to persuade us to do one thing or another within our halls. It's a basic matter of separation of powers.

Governor Reagan asked for a personal appearance in 1969, if memory serves me correctly, relative to the budget bill. He wanted to speak to a joint session and was refused. That's one of the things that made it surprising that the Governor and the Governor's people said that this was the first time that a governor had been refused the right to appear before the Legislature. There were two things wrong with the statement: one was that it wasn't even the first time for Governor Reagan; and the second, it is by no means a right. If there ever was a right it was lost after the shedding of a great deal of blood in Great Britain some centuries ago.

Journal: To follow up on one of the other issues that you thought would be of major importance this year — in the area of transportation. Was the defeat of Proposition 18 last year a harbinger for the future in regard to that issue?

Mills: No, the nature of that defeat has caused a great deal of indignation on the part of the public, and I think the Legislature is much more likely to pass legislation this year that will finance public transportation improvements than at any time in the past.

Journal: Is it possible that the legislation might be even stronger than Proposition 18 was in terms of providing for use of more of the highway funds and with greater flexibility?

Mills: If it is a constitutional amendment, I think it will be stronger than Proposition 18. If, on the other hand, some compromise is reached and some bill is passed that perhaps levies a sales tax on gasoline and use of those funds for such purposes, then a com-

(Continued on next page)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CCCJ *(Continued from page 65)*

thority continue its Youth Service Bureaus to combat juvenile delinquency.

Recently announced projects have ranged from a grant of $66,334 to help support a sheriff's foot patrol in Isla Vista to a grant of $612,604 to help fund a newly created organized crime unit in the State Department of Justice.

It is impossible at this stage to usefully describe and evaluate the more than 200 projects which the council has funded to date. Although there is a certain amount of reporting as to the general purpose of these projects, the council does not provide a detailed analysis and has established no evaluative procedures to determine the impact of its spending.

An examination of the council's documents regarding the allocation of grant funds and project approvals indicates that geographical considerations are most important in distributing federal aid. The council has adopted for this purpose a regional allocation formula which takes into account weighted measures of each region's juvenile population, adult population, arrests for seven major offenses, adult arrests and juvenile arrests. The first priority is accordingly given to spreading the money around in what is accepted as an equitable manner.

Nor has the council evidenced any serious interest in planning. The first state "plan" was no more than an initial inventory of criminal justice agencies and staffing, together with a massive collection of statements about how additional federal money might be spent throughout the state. The council's 24-volume, 5,896-page "comprehensive plan," which was rushed to Washington in April 1969 so that California could be the first state to submit its "plan," must have caused some consternation among those federal officials who were required to read it.

This year the annual "comprehensive plan" was submitted to the council at its February meeting in outline form which dealt more with unresolved issues and the planning process than with firm policy and procedural decisions. During the council's subsequent discussion Senator Deukmejian expressed his "dismay about the whole thing," and particularly about the absence of a real plan. Another council member responded by noting that the council itself had never been interested in planning and therefore could not criticize the staff in this regard.

Crime Research Foundation

The California Crime Technological Research Foundation, a sister organization of the CCCJ, was created in 1967 to serve as the CCCJ's science and technology task force and to carry on its own crime-oriented research. Unlike the council, the research foundation is a public corporation and can receive public and private grants, although up to this time it has failed to obtain any. The foundation, which did not begin work until 1970, has been involved in Project Search, a federal project with a $1 million appropriation to coordinate a 10-state computerized criminal justice information system. It also reviews all scientific and technological proposals which come before the council for funding.

The foundation was conceived as separate from the council to insure the independence needed in its research, but it now faces an uncertain future. When created in 1967, the foundation was authorized only until the end of the 1971 legislative session. Although supporters of the foundation feel that its research is necessary and should remain separated from the CCCJ, there has been little opposition to the foundation's prospective termination, outside of the foundation itself. In fact, the council, which is required by law to approve the foundation's annual research budget, specifically declined to endorse a recommendation to the Legislature concerning the renewal of the foundation, evidently because the council does not favor the concept of a separate research agency.

Federal Funds Growing

According to all reports, federal project funds which the CCCJ administers will continue to increase in the next few years. As a consequence, the potential role of the CCCJ will also continue to grow. Present evidence suggests, however, that this will only mean a widening gap between what the Legislature intended the council to be and what it is.

MILLS *(Continued from previous page)*

promise of that nature would be less far reaching than Proposition 18.

Journal: The Senate Rules Committee has done away with the Un-American Activities Committee and replaced it with a Committee on Civil Disorders. Why did you first favor retaining the committee and then change your position?

Mills: I only favored retaining the committee if the name of the committee was changed in accordance with what took place in Congress; that is, changing it to the Internal Security Committee, and if its responsibilities were changed and it were directed to produce legislation. I changed my position after I requested copies of the files on members of the Senate. I made that request not because the Senate is sacrosanct and above suspicion, unlike other people, but because members of the Senate were probably appropriate examples of the manner in which the committee had been keeping track of the public in general. When I found myself listed and when I found various other members listed, and listed for the reasons that they were, well, that's preposterous.

That it wasn't accomplishing anything was well known, that it had never produced any legislation or at least not for many years. The replacement of the committee by a Committee on Civil Disorders is an appropriate thing because civil disorder is a real problem that we have today, and the Legislature should direct itself to it and should direct itself to what the causes are and what we can do about the causes. There is a definite threat to property and even to life in California today as a result of these activities. I expect the new committee to be constructive and to propose legislation that will be beneficial to the people of California — something that the Un-American Activities Committee never did — and that, after all, is the duty of a legislative committee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senate Approves Eighteen-Year-Old Vote

In an historic action on March 16th, the State Senate, traditionally a graveyard for proposals to lower the voting age, yielded to arguments for extending the franchise to an estimated 1.5 million 18 to 20-year old residents. The 28-9 vote on a constitutional amendment authored by Senator George Moscone of San Francisco, one more than the two-thirds majority required, came three weeks after the Senate had first rejected the amendment.

The amendment will also reduce voter residency requirements for all state and federal elections from one year in the state, 90 days in the county, and 54 days in the precinct to a uniform residency requirement of 30 days for each. Additionally, it will eliminate voter literacy requirements.

During the 1970 session, a major push to lower the voting age was approved by the Assembly but was defeated on the floor of the Senate following heated debate in the hectic closing days of the session. The shift in support for the proposal this time was not the result of new faces in the Senate but switches by veteran Senators Joseph M. Kennick of Long Beach, Fred W. Marler, Jr., of Redding, Walter W. Stiern of Bakersfield, and James E. Whetmore of Garden Grove. In the final tally, 18 Democrats and 10 Republicans voted for the Moscone measure; 8 Republicans and 1 Democrat voted nay (see Voting Records, p. 89).

U.S. Supreme Court Decision

Last year, when Congress included 18-year-old voting as part of the 1970 Voting Rights Act, there was general concern over the constitutionality of its provisions since Congress was acting by statute to affect voter qualifications of the states. In a case brought by the State of Oregon, the Supreme Court ruled in a 5-4 decision that the statute could only apply to national elections.

As a result of the Supreme Court's decision, 18-year-olds in California became eligible to vote in the Presidential and congressional races, but they can not yet vote in state or local elections. If an election were held under these circumstances separate procedures for printing, handling and counting of separate ballots for voters 18 to 20 years of age would be required. Estimates of costs to maintain separate voting procedures on a nationwide basis vary between $10 million and $20 million. Thus, there is a strong cost argument for approval by the California electorate of a constitutional amendment which will make the federal and state voting age requirements uniform.

Amendment to U.S. Constitution

One week after the State Senate vote on the amendment to California's Constitution, Congress gave California lawmakers an alternative to consider. On March 23rd, the House of Representatives approved 400 - 19 and sent to the states a proposed amendment to the federal Constitution lowering the voting age in all elections nationwide. The amendment, which will become the 26th addition to the federal Constitution if adopted by three-fourths (38) of the state legislatures, was approved by a 94-0 in the U.S. Senate earlier this month.

Five states immediately ratified the proposed amendment. Minnesota and Delaware were first, less than an hour after the House vote. Tennessee, Conecticut, and Washington were next. California has also begun swift action and has measures pending in both houses to ratify the proposed amendment. On March 25th, the Senate Elections and Reapportionment Committee approved a ratification resolution authored by committee chairman Senator Mervyn M. Dymally of Los Angeles.

1972 Election Deadline

The dilemna now confronting California lawmakers is whether enough states will ratify the proposed 26th Amendment before the 1972 elections, thus eliminating the need to hold a special election this year to amend the California Constitution so that 18 to 20-year-olds will be eligible to vote in state and local as well as federal elections in 1972. The last three amendments to the U.S. Constitution were adopted by the states in an average of 15 months, a time span which would bring ratification perilously close to the 1972 June primary election in California. Unless a special election is called, the amendment to the California Constitution will be considered by the electorate next June.

Age of Majority Issue Unresolved

The legislative and congressional debate on the 18-year-old voting issue has been accompanied by arguments that other legal responsibilities of adulthood should be bestowed on 18-year-olds as well as the franchise. Representative James Howard of New Jersey attempted to make 18 the age of legal adulthood in all matters but was ruled out of order by House Speaker Carl Albert. Howard, a long-time advocate of 18-year-old voting, argued that the measure would be more palatable to the states if it welded "privilege with responsibility". Moscone's amendment does not incorporate other legal responsibilities of adulthood.

Governor Reagan, who says he has kept an "open mind" on whether 18-year-olds should vote in state and county elections, indicated at his weekly press conference following the House passage of the federal amendment that he doesn't believe 18-year-olds can be made citizens without making them full citizens with everything that goes with it:

> "It just somehow seems odd to me that you are going to say someone is old enough to vote but he isn't old enough to decide whether he can have a drink, and yet I know a great many people are going to be very much opposed to putting these other full citizenship rights and responsibilities on the backs of 18-year-olds."

The Governor's signature is not required to submit a constitutional amendment to the voters, however, or to ratify an amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

A related measure introduced by Senator Arlen Gregorio of San Mateo permits 18-year-olds to hold appointed public office. Under existing law, a person must be 21 to be appointed to a civil office, but automatically qualifies to run for any state elective office in California when he is entitled to vote.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Political Parties: An Introduction

BY THOMAS JESSE GOFF, JR.

With the following article, California Journal *begins a five-part series on California's political parties — their history, structure, functions and significance in the development of contemporary state government and politics. Our primary purpose in this series will be to identify and analyze the resources available to the major parties and the manner in which those resources are employed to shape not only partisan political contests but also the procedures and policies of California state government. Subsequent articles and interviews will deal with the club movement; the leadership, tactics, and internal conflicts of each of the two major parties; and the recent history of "third" parties in this state.*

California's political party system has been a constant source of fascination and frustration for the politically ambitious during most of the twentieth century. The unpredictability of the state's electorate has sent many seasoned candidates to sudden, unexpected oblivion, and scores of experienced campaign managers to harsh words, hard drink and an early grave.

Candidates regularly rise to political prominance in California with little or no sustained attachment to political parties. Among such candidates, Earl Warren and Edmund "Pat" Brown take prominent positions together with Ronald Reagan, who in 1960 campaigned actively as a Democrat against the senatorial candidacy of Richard Nixon.

Deplored by political scientists for its irrationality and improvisation, despised by professional politicians for its rampant amateurism, California's political system has nevertheless presented the nation with an eminently functional state government that has earned the respect of practitioners in this country and abroad.

Much of what distinguishes California politics from the national norm can be traced to the dark angel of Progressive vengeance that swept the state 60 years ago. Throughout the 1890's and up to 1910, California's government and its political parties, from top to bottom, were controlled by a political machine perhaps less blatant but as thoroughly corrupt as infamous Tammany Hall. The chief villain was the Southern Pacific Railroad, with its control of California politics from the local level to the highest state chambers.

Progressive Reform

The emergence of the "Progressive Republicans" on the national scene in 1908 produced little of lasting substance for most of the country, but it augured a fundamental restructuring for California politics and government. Newly-elected Governor Hiram Johnson and his Progressive Party, which drew its adherents from both of the traditional parties, brought to the capitol in 1911 an administration and Legislature thoroughly committed to the Progressive dogma. The idealistic lawmakers proceeded to hand the state's citizens what were then thought to be the tablets of direct democratic action: the recall, so that they might remove from office politicians who would thwart the will of the people; the referendum, by which the people could veto enacted legislative measures that displeased them; and the initiative, by which people could circumvent a recalcitrant or insensitive Legislature and themselves independently legislate measures that suited them. In addition, the Legislature passed several measures which were aimed directly at weakening party organization.

Traditionally, the American political party finds its base in local precinct activity, rising to a hierarchical apex in the statewide party machinery. Party activists, chosen through local and county conventions, manage the wards and the precincts, and send forth an even more select group to statewide conventions where the party's nominees for major offices are chosen.

By extensive statutory provision, Johnsonian reforms vigorously and purposefully severed this regular line of progression from local "grassroots" to statewide office. Partisanship was maintained in California for legislators and state officials but was formally eliminated on the local and county level. Even on the state level, parties were expressly forbidden to nominate or endorse candidates before a preliminary election in which the registered members of the party, "the people", could nominate party leaders.

The most controversial of all the reform devices was crossfiling, which, until it was abolished in 1959, allowed the members of one party to run for the nomination of another party in the primary. Republican candidates from Johnson's time until the 1950's regularly defeated Democratic opponents in the Democratic primary, thereby, in effect, winning office in the primary election. Prior to 1952, candidates did not even have to indicate their party membership.

Formal party structure in California remains basically untouched since Progressive times. While the county central committees are elected from districts by local voters, the state central committees are creatures of the primary election nominees and incumbent office holders. The state delegations to the national conventions are chosen by the presidential nominees running in the state preferential primaries and are completely independent of state party control. The state party conventions are relegated to the relatively unimportant task of drafting the party platforms. The post-Johnson political party that California inherits today remains, then, fragmented and largely impotent at nearly every level.

County Central Committees

The county central committees, the basic party organizations at the local level, have little or nothing to do with the statewide organization of each of the major parties. Seats on the county committees are filled by members elected every two years in the party primaries. In the smaller counties (those with less than five Assembly districts) county committee members are elected at large from supervisorial districts. In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the larger counties, however, six or seven members are elected from each Assembly district. Democrats in the larger counties are authorized to create county committee districts within each Assembly district, in which case each committeeman must reside in one of the districts although he is elected at large. In each party the incumbent state legislators or the nominees are *ex officio* members of the committees in their districts. In the Republican Party, incumbent or nominated state officers and congressmen are also *ex officio* members.

A candidate for a seat on a county central committee needs 20-30 sponsors who are registered, as he must be, as members of the party. There is no filing fee and no fixed period of prior party membership. Only in unusual circumstances are many seats on a committee contested, and if there are no contested seats, the election can be automatic and is not placed on the ballot.

By statute, the county central committee is established to manage the affairs of each political party on the county level under the direction of the state central committee. In fact, the committees are relatively impotent, being largely restricted to soliciting volunteers to canvass for statewide or national candidates following the primary election. The party is prohibited from endorsing political candidacies for local office.

Local elections in California are non-partisan from mayor to sheriff (although in practice each local candidate's party affiliation often becomes known at least to party regulars). Voting precincts, with the traditional ward bosses and ward heelers, as may be found in some large cities in other states, are unknown in California, where the precinct exists only on election day.

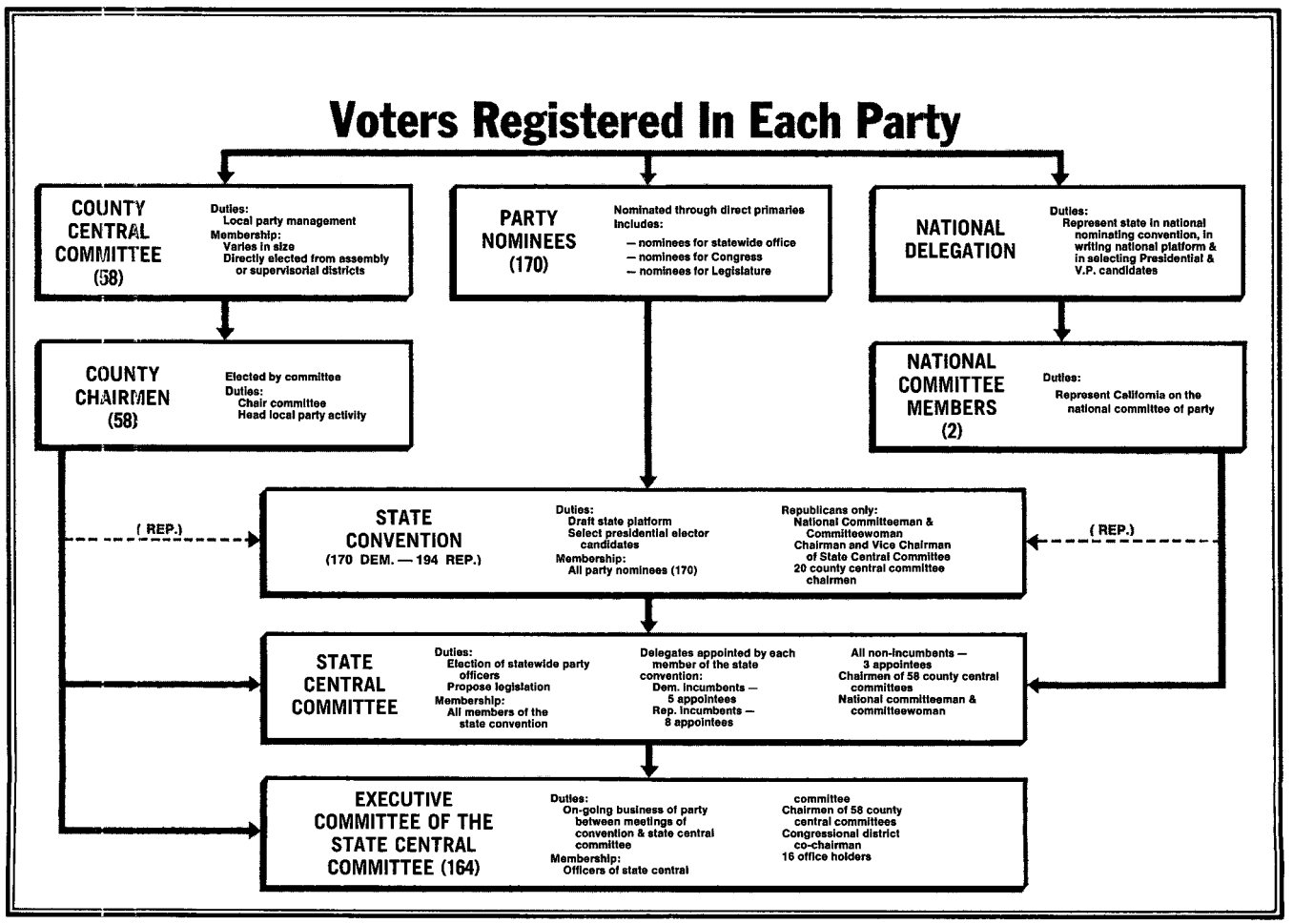
The State Convention

It was the convention system that the California Progressives hated most. A painful experience at the 1907 Republican Convention had emphasized Southern Pacific control over California's political life. The spirit of political change and reform was in the wind throughout the state in that year, but progressive attempts to wrench power from the S. P. at the convention in Santa Cruz met an ignominious defeat.

In 1909, as a consequence, the key function of the traditional conventions — the nomination of party candidates — was taken from them through the adoption of direct primary elections. As the Progressives increased their power in the state, they further weakened the state convention system. Today, the state party conventions retain only two noteworthy functio: the drafting of the party platforms, for the most part preordained before the conventions meet; and the

(Continued on page 80)

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL PARTY ORGANIZATION



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Statewide Property Tax For Schools

Nearly every group which has given serious attention to the question of how support for California's public schools can be improved has come up with a common answer: a statewide property tax. The purpose of such a tax is to end the disparity between high wealth and low wealth districts, to put the money where the kids are, by establishing a single statewide property tax base. Yet each year when a statewide property tax has been proposed in the Legislature, beginning in 1966, it has been killed promptly and with very little debate.

Why has this happened? Why has a major "reform" hailed by fiscal experts, school officials, powerful legislators and editorial writers proven to be so easily defeated? Those who are once again placing a statewide property tax before the Legislature must find the answer to this question, and find it soon if their efforts are not to be wasted once more.

California's public schools now derive approximately 35 percent of their current income from state aid, 56 percent from district property taxes, and 9 percent from other sources, including federal aid. Although the complex formula for apportioning state aid is intended to achieve, among other things, some equalization among the various districts in their ability to provide a basic level of expenditure, it has largely failed. The disparity in local wealth, the assessed valuation of real and personal property in each district, has proven too much to overcome.

Variations in Wealth

As a consequence, there is great variation among the 1,144 elementary, high school, unified and community college districts in their ability to meet the cost of providing adequate instructional programs at each level and in the effort they must make to do so. A unified district in Alameda County with relatively few students can provide over $2,000 per student with a tax rate of $2.57. A larger district in the same county can provide only a little over $600 with a tax rate of $5.65. In Los Angeles County a wealthy district can raise $1,200 per student with a tax rate of $2.38, while another needs a tax of $5.48 to raise $570 per student.

Range in Assessed Valuation per student (ADA)
1969-70

	Elementary	High School	Community College
Low	$ 103	$ 11,959	$ 45,285
Median	19,600	41,300	133,600
High	952,156	349,093	371,432

Source: Legislative Analyst

The wide range in taxable wealth per student from one district to another produces similarly wide ranges from district to district in the tax rate burden required to raise necessary school funds. Among unified districts, for example, the school tax rates for 1969-70 ranged from $1.00 to $6.97, with a median of $4.33. Expenditures per student ranged from $612 to $2,414, with a median of $766.

These facts have led Legislative Analyst A. Alan Post, State Superintendent Wilson Riles, Senators Stephen Teale and Albert Rodda, Senate Consultant Ronald Cox, the Governor's Advisory Commission on Tax Reform, and, more recently, the State Board of Education's Statewide Council on Long-Range School Finance Planning to argue that the state must adopt a statewide property tax to equalize school support.

Uniform Levy

A statewide property tax is simply a tax of some specified rate which is levied uniformly throughout the state. The revenues do not remain in the districts or counties, however, but are paid into a state fund for reallocation back to the districts on the basis of enrollment at each level (elementary, high school, community college). Thus, those districts which are relatively wealthy in terms of the assessed amount of property value per school pupil will contribute some of their property tax revenues to other districts which have a lower assessed valuation per student.

The principle is the same as for any state tax: a service which is performed throughout the state, and which is expected to meet certain statewide standards, should have a tax base which is also statewide. In this way the schools in one area will have the same minimum financial base as those in any other area, and every property taxpayer will make the same basic tax effort. This can be accomplished either by converting a local tax (the property tax) into a state tax, as is now being proposed, or by increasing the amount of revenues from existing state taxes (sales, income, franchise, etc.) which go to support the schools.

"I think . . . we have to assume that it is the desire of the people of the state that a system of school support devised by the Legislature provide for equality and educational opportunity for all the children in the state regardless of where they attend school."

— Dr. Ronald W. Cox

The conversion of the local property tax for schools into a state tax has won most of its supporters for pragmatic reasons. It is an existing tax which needs only to be raised in some areas (and lowered in others) to produce a statewide tax base and a modest increase in revenues. The alternative, to capture a larger share of revenues from existing state taxes, would require either a corresponding reduction in other state services or an increase in taxes for a large proportion of the population. If additional funds are to be raised for the schools and some of the current inequities in funding erased, it would seem easiest to convert some portion of the property tax for schools to a state tax.

It is not, however, that simple. For one thing, it is now widely accepted that the property tax itself has many inequities for taxpayers who are taxed according to a valuation of their assets but generally pay out of current income. Thus, it is difficult for those who favor tax reform generally to support an action which may

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

very well increase dependence on the property tax. Moreover, tax experts note that the property tax does not have the same growth record as the income tax, and therefore will not produce additional revenues to keep pace with rising costs without repeated increases in the tax rate. For these reasons a statewide property tax is not something which many legislators and tax experts can support enthusiastically, however much they may favor a stronger financial base for the public schools.

Districts Lose Funds

More importantly, the establishment of a statewide property tax would necessarily take away a part of the revenue base that many school districts now rely upon, and no district, however wealthy it may appear to outsiders, feels that it can give up either current or potential revenue. The higher the statewide property tax rate, the more effective it will be in equalizing district wealth, but it will also hit more districts harder. For this reason any proposal which is to get even a first hearing must carry with it a substantial amount of increased funding from other state revenues. The additional funds are necessary to ease the impact for most of the districts which would otherwise have to raise their tax rates in order to maintain their present programs.

Thus, the plan recommended by the state board's Council on Long-Range School Finance Planning calls for $397 million in additional state aid for the public schools — an amount which offsets the impact of the statewide property tax for all but 30-40 districts. The council's plan, which was recently approved by the state board for submission to the Legislature, calls for a statewide tax of $3.75. This figure includes $1.87 for elementary grades, $1.50 for high schools, and $.38 for community colleges. This tax would produce an estimated $2.2 billion in 1971-72, enough, when added to $2.1 billion in current and new state aid from other resources, to provide $667 per elementary student, $874 per high school student and $917 per community college student.

According to department estimates 90 percent of the state's school districts would benefit under this proposal. Los Angeles county districts would gain $60 million, of which $25 million would go to Los Angeles city schools.

San Francisco

Among the large urban school districts, only the San Francisco Unified School District would lose money from a statewide property tax. Because of its relatively high assessed valuation per student, the San Francisco district has long been classified as a basic aid district — a district which receives only $125 per pupil in state aid.

According to district figures, the $3.37 tax for elementary and high school grades which the state board has endorsed will raise $74 million in San Francisco, but the city would get back only $64.2 million for a net contribution of $9.8 million in property tax revenues to other districts. On top of this, the district would lose the $11 million in basic aid it would otherwise receive. To retain its present levels of expenditure, which are above the basic levels proposed by the state board, the district would have to raise its tax rate by $1.16.

San Francisco school officials argue that they are hard pressed now to obtain the tax funds necessary to provide a minimal program, in part because of the higher costs of operating schools in a large urban area. Moreover, they point out that San Franciscans now pay higher than average property taxes for a whole range of services, and it is unfair to consider only their school taxes. Whatever the merits of these arguments, they are sufficient to place San Francisco's legislators squarely in opposition to any statewide tax plan which does not either exempt San Francisco or provide enough revenue from other state taxes for schools or for other purposes to offset the impact of the state property tax.

Of the five bills which have been introduced to date to make major revisions in school support, four — SB 129 (Rodda), AB 65 (Deddeh), AB 144 (L. Greene), and AB 500 (MacDonald) — include a statewide property tax. SB 129 is essentially the same as the bill Senator Stephen Teale introduced in 1970; it provides for a $2.88 state property tax, of which $1.46 is for elementary schools, $1.17 is for high schools and $.25 is for community colleges. It also carries a special provision which, in effect, exempts all countywide districts (in San Francisco, Alpine, Del Norte, Plumas, and Mariposa Counties). It is evidently this feature which has made it palatable to Senate coauthors George Moscone and Milton Marks of San Francisco. The $2.88 tax rate would raise an additional $79 million in school funds statewide.

AB 144 by Assembly Education Committee Chairman Leroy Greene provides for a statewide tax of $2.05, with no exemptions. The other two bills provide for a total statewide tax of $3.00, or enough to raise 50 percent of the current average cost of education through the twelfth grade.

Assemblyman Bill Bagley has said that his major tax reform bills, which are numbered AB 1000 and 1001 as last year, will again include a statewide property tax. Bagley has indicated, however, that he is not strongly committed to that tax, perhaps remembering that he was forced to drop it last year in order to get his bills out of the Assembly Revenue and Taxation Committee. The Democratic tax proposal released on March 26th by Speaker Bob Moretti and Assemblyman Joe A. Gonzalves does not include a statewide property tax.

Support and Opposition

The Legislative Analyst has been among the most consistent backers of a statewide property tax for the schools. In 1962 the Analyst recommended a statewide property tax for the junior colleges. Then in 1964-65 the Analyst proposed a countywide tax for the elementary and secondary schools for the same reasons as are now advanced for the statewide tax. In 1969-70 the Analyst recommended a "split assessment" plan which would establish a statewide property tax for business but not for homeowners, and in 1970 swung behind a general state property tax.

An organization called Schools for Sound Finance has been formed by 38 relatively wealthy school districts which believe they will be hurt by the proposed tax. Under the leadership of Kenneth Peters, Superintendent of the Beverly Hills School District, these districts have chipped in to employ a lobbyist to carry

(Continued on page 85)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Women's Commission Faces Funding Struggle

BY SHIRLEY A. BIONDI

The Advisory Commission on the Status of Women issued its biennial report on March 17th, three and a half months before it is due to expire on June 30th. The basic purpose of the 1971 report, says Executive Director Carolyn Heine, is to "sum up the commission's activities and to emphasize its new approach — to follow many of its own past recommendations, rather than just making studies." Mrs. Heine hopes the report will demonstrate the value of the commission and thereby insure its continuance. The day after the report was made public, Assemblyman Wadie P. Deddeh introduced AB 1006 to extend the commission indefinitely.

The commission issued two previous reports, in 1967 and 1969, and several of its past recommendations have become law. Reforms in the Fair Employment Practices Act advocated by the 1967 report passed the Legislature last year as AB 22 (See *California Journal*, June 1970, page 161). Also in 1970, the Community Coordinated Child Care (4-C) approach suggested in the 1969 report was partially adopted in Assemblyman Jerry Lewis' AB 750.

Findings and Recommendations

In bringing its earlier figures up to date, the commission notes that women today comprise 37 percent of California's total work force and that the median salary for women workers in the U.S. is 60 percent of the median salary for men. The commission also reports that welfare families where a woman is head of the household have nearly doubled in the last two years, rising from 158,000 in 1968 to 296,000 in 1970, and that over the last ten years the number of divorces granted in California has increased by 148 percent. "The overwhelming majority of California women workers are members of the workforce from economic necessity," the report concludes, " and women workers tend to be concentrated in low-paying jobs."

The commission's principal recommendations to deal with these situations are:

- Formulation of long-range, flexible child care standards for California by an Advisory Committee on Child Development. The committee was authorized in 1970 by AB 750 (Lewis).
- A feasibility study of state government, low-interest loans for the construction, renovation and pre-operational costs for new child care centers.
- Extension of child care services to agricultural migratory workers, other seasonal workers, and the rural poor.
- Individual licensing for privately-owned, franchised group care facilities.
- Promotion of "an awareness of the changing life patterns, changing opportunities and changing responsibilities for girls and women" within the state's educational system, and expansion of career and vocational education and counseling for girls in the public schools.
- Inclusion of the portrayal of males and females in equal roles among the criteria for school textbook adoption.
- Action to achieve a better balance of men and women throughout the educational system at all levels of administration and instruction.
- Adult community counseling and job referral programs to aid women who are re-entering the job market after a lapse of several years at home.
- Increased effort on the part of medical schools to recruit qualified women students.

Women as a Percentage of Total California Civilian Employment

Year	Total Employment	Women	% of Total
1900	642,446	87,546	13.6
1930	2,498,956	557,145	22.3
1960	5,933,000	1,929,000	32.5
1970	8,091,000	2,999,000	37.1

Source: Human Relations Agency, February 1971.

Abortion Laws and Employment Practices

The subject of abortion is conspicuously absent from the 1971 report. Following the 1967 commission recommendation that abortion laws be liberalized, the 1967 Therapeutic Abortion Act was passed, extending the legal justifications for abortion to include the impairment of the physical or mental health of the mother or when the pregnancy resulted from rape or incest. Since its enactment, many feminists have called for further liberalization or total repeal of the 1967 act. The commission has not re-examined the issue since that time.

In the area of employment, last year's passage of Assemblyman Charles Warren's AB 22 extended the Fair Employment Practices Act to include discrimination based on sex. This was hailed by many women as a victory, but there has been increasing pressure this year for further reform — either to entirely repeal protective labor laws, which apply only to women, or to extend these laws to men. Particularly offensive to many women are the current weightlifting limits and the wage and hours law. The 1971 commission report devoted less than a page to this subject and recommended only "continued review of the issues."

Prospects for Future Funding

Some women's organizations have criticized the commission for its preoccupation with child care, its lack of scope, and its conservatism, but no women's group has yet questioned the value of its continuance. Women who oppose the tenor of the commission's report hope they can lobby for a continued commission and then gradually replace the commission membership with people who support a more active approach. The commission operates on $44,000 a year, which provides only for two full-time positions — the Executive

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Director and a secretary — and relies heavily on volunteer consultants and women's organizations throughout the state.

Despite the support of women's groups, the commission's future funding remains uncertain. Although Assemblyman Deddeh's bill proposes a continuing commission, it does not now provide the funds necessary to guarantee the commission's continuance. The commission has been funded on a two-year basis three times since its inception in 1965. The commission could exist without funding, but this might preclude the possibility of any effective programs. The funds will thereforce have to be amended into AB 1006 after it has passed the Assembly or be added to the budget bill. This is likely only through public pressure on the legislators and on the Governor, who initially opposed the commission on fiscal grounds in 1969 before later withdrawing his objections. It would be a strange paradox if the commission were discontinued just as the position of women in society is being seriously re-examined.

New Approach to State Planning

The California Tomorrow Plan: A First Sketch was released this month by the San Francisco-based nonprofit organization, California Tomorrow. The organization, which publishes the quarterly journal *Cry California*, has been a constant critic of state planning efforts (*California Journal*, November 1970, page 315), and under the direction of its president, Alfred Heller, decided to try to demonstrate that closely related physical and social problems could be met under "a single, easily understood set of policies and goals."

California Tomorrow's "sketch" plan is presented in a 38-page newsprint format. It is the product of a 12-man planning task force under Heller's chairmanship, with the assistance of planning consultants Skidmore, Owings and Merrill. And it is purposefully unlike any conventional planning document.

The essence of the plan is a three-part model of California: California Zero, the California of today which catalogues "the major disruptions which are besetting us;" and California One and California Two, two projections of California's growth and character to the end of the century. California One assumes that current trends in government structure and policy continue. California Two offers alternatives to the current trends.

California Two provides for statewide planning which is coordinated and administered by state regulatory agencies and regional governments. Within this governmental framework each broad category of state policy for land, structures and people is described, and specific policies are set forth. For example, the framework for state land policy is a proposed state zoning plan according to which California land will be distributed among four broad zoning categories: agriculture, conservation, urban, and regional reserves. Under the zoning plan, the first three types of state zoning are fixed as to use, but the fourth category is to be reserved to the regions for a variety of public and private purposes. Similarly, with respect to structures the plan calls for a state "infrastructure" plan, or north-south corridor for freeways, power plants, transmission lines, aquaducts and transit systems.

To accomplish all these policies California Two requires a major redirection of governmental policy. Each element of the California Two plan raises a myriad of questions and problems. However, the narrative "sketch" format of the plan is designed to show the close relationships which exist between all major programs and policies, and its main theme is that planning must be based on those relationships.

In pointed contrast to the criticism leveled from many quarters at California's State Development Plan Program — that it did not provide for its own implementation — there is a seven-point program for "activating" the planning model advanced as California Two. "Often planners and plans avoid this question on the grounds it is too 'political,'" the authors observe, "but there is no use in preparing a plan for the future if it has no program to put into effect."

Despite its implementation program, the California Tomorrow Plan, with its massive restructuring of governmental policies and in the tenor of its rhetoric, seems to require a degree of governmental intervention in the life of its citizenry which exceeds the present bounds of public acceptibility.

The first opportunity to test public and professional reaction will be provided on Aril 13th and 14th when California Tomorrow's Third Biennial State Planning Conference will convene in San Francisco to review and evaluate the sketch plan for the future of California.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Noted Educator, Willard B. Spalding, Analyzes Higher Education Prospects

Dr. Willard Spalding, who retired this month as Deputy Director of the Coordinating Council for Higher Education, has become, over the past eight years, one of the state's most respected educational leaders. Dr. Spalding came to California in 1963 from Portland State University in Oregon where he was head of the school of education. He served as Associate Director of the council from 1963 to 1965, Director from 1965 to 1968 and then as Deputy Director until his retirement. He is returning to Portland State University to teach part-time in the graduate school of education.

California Journal: What is the strongest impression of California higher education that you take away with you after eight years here.

Dr. Willard Spalding: I would say I have two strong impressions. One is that the state of California in the University of California has a system of higher education that is among the most distinguished in the world, and that too few people in the state really understand this. My second impression is that the California State Colleges can become an unusually good system of higher education, that they've made great progress, but that they still have a considerable way to go within the functions that are delineated to them now. I think I ought to say, too, that this has been my first experience in a state that has a long established and widespread system of community colleges, and I find this to be a very important aspect of providing the kind of educational service to the people that any state ought to provide.

Journal: Do you feel that California is by and large meeting the probable student demand in terms of scope and accessibility to higher education?

Spalding: I am not sure that California is meeting it in terms of accessibility. Let me deal with that first. In most of the large cities of California the means of transportation is either a private automobile or by public transportation system which is inadequate and makes it extremely difficult for students to get from where they live to an institution of higher education. I think the problem of accessibility in our large cities is severe and that the colleges and universities located in large cities might well consider some kind of extended effort using other facilities to offer courses that would be available to people closer to where they live.

In terms of the accessibility in rural areas, or sparsely settled areas, higher education obviously is not accessible, nor do I see any way of making it accessible, except possibly through the use of electronic devices, such as taped lessons, which can be played by cassette on radio or television. While these are suitable for some kinds of courses, they are obviously unsuitable for courses which require special facilities, such as laboratories or libraries, which are generally not found in these areas.

In respect to the second part of your question, as to the kind of education students need, I was interested in reviewing some material recently regarding students in EOP programs. Most people with whom I've talked seem to believe that a high proportion of students in educational opportunity programs are majoring in black studies or ethnic studies or something of this kind. The data collected so far indicates that only one half of one per cent of the students are majoring in these two areas. The most popular major for EOP students is business.

This is a good example of the students themselves recognizing where the payoff is, and consequently choosing a major which they see will contribute to their life outside of college, in a better way than most people would have thought. I think if one examines the choices of students now, they follow a pattern of picking areas where they believe they will be prepared for a useful, productive life after they are out of college.

I think the problem is not in the areas which are offered, but in the content of some of the areas. I think there is a much greater need for getting students out of the institution and into situations which occur in the lives of people generally, as part of their educational experience. I think it is one thing to study sociology in a classroom and another to know what an apartment smells like in a ghetto. I think there needs to be a greater use of external resources in the educational program, in those programs where it's appropriate.

Journal: What are your feelings about the future of coordination of higher education in California?

Spalding: I doubt very much that there is any likelihood that the people of California would amend the Constitution in order to provide for a different system of control than now exists. I would visualize this as being opposed by all three public segments. I think it would be one of the rare occasions when one would find unanimity among the community colleges, and I suspect that when all three segments really work on the same thing, it would be impossible to change the Constitution to substitute a controlling board. I think, then, the problem is one of coordination rather than control.

I think that the present Donahue Act asks the council to perform a function which is unrealistic and unneeded. Namely, to review the annual operating and capital outlay budget requests of the segments of higher education and to make recommendations upon the general level of support sought. The budget is reviewed adequately by the Department of Finance, by the Legislature and the Legislative Analyst. I doubt that there's an adequate role for the council to play.

I would suggest eliminating that and adding a function which is now carried on by the council within the rubric of planning for the orderly growth for public higher education but which, I think, has enough emphasis to be a separate function. That is a concern for the admission and orderly progress of students into and through institutions of higher education. I would like to see this change.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I think also, that if one were to give the council some kind of control, and I am not at all sure whether the council as presently constituted should have controls, but if we were to give the council some kind of control, I would say that what California needs most is authoritative long-range planning in higher education. This planning would take into account the area of students which I have just mentioned, would take into account the planning of academic programs and would also take into account the planning of educational facilities. This planning function could be given to the council on the basis of a legislative decision to fund only those new programs which are recommended by the council, to fund only that number of students that the council found would be there, to fund only the construction of those new facilities that the council recommended. This would not take a constitutional amendment.

However, I said that I was not sure that this type of authority was desirable when the council is presently constituted as it is. I don't believe that a board with four-year terms, a majority of the board being appointed by the Governor, is going to really reflect what's better for higher education to the same degree that it reflects a particular philosophy of government.

I think that concern about what's best for higher education needs to be more prevalent in council decisions. I would like to have seen the original recommendations of the Master Plan for Higher Education used, which as you know was for a twelve-man council with no public members. I think that would have given the council a basis for authority it never had — the decisions that it reached would have been binding upon the University, the state colleges, and the community colleges because they would have participated in making those decisions; they would have been their decisions, and they would have intended to follow them.

I don't detect the same kind of warmness on the part of any of the public segments to follow recommendations of a board made up largely of public members who don't have much deep concern for higher education.

Journal: Yet even when the council was made up largely of segmental representatives, those representatives fought strenuously against giving important planning functions to the council. Whenever a planning concept was put before them, they promptly dismissed it.

Spalding: I think that is a misconception. Look back at some of the things the council did. The existence of the present Board of Governors of the Community Colleges is a direct result of council action. It recommended that a Board of Governors be established and that it be separated from the Board of Education. On the basis of this recommendation, legislation was introduced and the board was established. The council's first study of the need for additional centers of public higher education recommended three additional state colleges and two additional campuses of the university. This again was an example of long-range planning. The more recent study of additional centers for public higher education resulted in recommendations questioning the desirability of some community college campuses that were proposed. The action of the council in establishing a policy for the progress of students among the segments is another example of long-range planning.

I think what has happened is that people expect to see long-range planning in a massive, bulky form as a long-range plan and don't recognize that individual council studies such as the ones in engineering, criminal justice, and marine science, and such as the one in agriculture which is now going on, are examples of long-range planning and planning that has been quite effective.

Journal: The council seems to be moving towards more public membership, however, and at the same time is under increasing attack by the legislature. Is there a way out for it?

Spalding: I think generally that dissatisfaction with the council in California is an aspect of the dissatisfaction with higher education in general. And the feeling that the council doesn't accomplish anything, which is what is often stated in the Legislature, is also a failure to recognize the authority the Legislature has given the council in the first place. I would say the expectations of the Legislature in California of the Coordinating Council are in excess of the authority that the council has been given by the Legislature in order to carry out its expectations.

Journal: It also seems to some observers of the educational scene in this state that there are few, if any, educators who have been willing to stick their heads up and become positive leaders for higher education in the last three or four years. Do you think this is true?

Spalding: I think the capacity for leadership exists in the University. I think the capacity for leadership exists in the state colleges. I think both are faced with the situation where because of appointments by the present Governor they have boards with split philosophies. It's extremely difficult for a person who has an administrative position to get action taken by a board that can't itself agree what to do. And while it's easy to characterize leadership as making speeches, true leadership is getting something done, and I would say that the present character of the membership of the Regents, and the membership of the Trustees tends to make actual leadership practically impossible.

Journal: What would you say has been the main impact of the first four years of the Reagan administration on higher education in California?

Spalding: I think the philosophy of the present administration does not encompass a recognition that there are areas of public service needed by the people of the state that should be provided to the people of the state.

Every time I state that I am accused of being a Democrat, so I should note that I've been a registered Republican since 1925.

I believe higher education stands out because it's so massive, it costs a lot of money. Public education is in the same fix, I think, for the same philosophical reason. These two areas stand out because there's a lot of money involved, but I don't think they are unique in terms of the philosophy of this administration.

Journal: You're saying they are suffering along with the rest of the state services?

Spalding: I'd say they are suffering along with the rest of the state services, and I don't quite know whether or not the people of the state are fully aware of the fact that the services which they have been getting are deteriorating in quality and quantity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

This proposal carries one other important factor. At present, under the Maximum Participating Base, recipients with substantial outside income may receive grants which, when added to that outside income, bring them up to full need standard. As long as their computed grant is less than the ceiling on payments, they receive the full amount rather than a proportionate share. Under the equitable apportionment system, they will receive the same percentage cut as do those whom Reagan calls the "truly needy", those with no other income.

According to administration spokesmen, any savings in the AFDC program which are achieved by the reform plan, and which exceed the amount of savings required to balance the budget, will be passed on to AFDC recipients in the form of an upward adjustment of the equitable apportionment. At present the administration believes that full implementation of its reform plan will stabilize welfare growth and produce savings, over and above those assumed in the budget, sufficient to provide at least a 19 per cent increase in grant amounts for families without outside income. Thus, as Reagan has claimed, there may be some increase in benefits to all, and especially to the "truly needy". These recipients will benefit most from any percentage increase in funds (just as they will lose most from a cutback) because, lacking outside income, they are eligible for higher grants than those who have some income.

5. Employment Programs

"One of the principal goals of our welfare reform program," says the Governor's report, "is to get able-bodied welfare recipients who are employable, or potentially employable, off the rolls and into jobs." This, of course, has been one of the principal goals of every welfare program — the problem has always been to convert the rhetoric into reality.

The Governor's plan is similar to many of those which have gone before it. "Employables" are to be separated from those who are unemployable and directed in one of three ways. Those who are "job ready" are to be helped to find employment and will be expected to meet "strong self-help, job-seeking requirements". Those who are not "job ready" (have no "marketable" job skill) are to be assigned to an employment training program. Those for whom there is, temporarily, no room in a job training program, and those who cannot find work, will be assigned to "public assistance work projects". Finally, those who reject all these options will be denied welfare benefits.

The first group, those believed to have "marketable" skills, will be placed under the supervision of the Department of Human Resorces Development (HRD), together with the social workers assigned to this responsibility. Presumably HRD will be staffed to take on this additional responsibiilty. Although this program will begin on a pilot project basis to test its feasibility, it is ultimately expected to involve all 70,000 unemployed fathers in the AFDC-U program, and some percentage of the over 350,000 mothers in AFDC family groups. It is not clear at this time, however, how HRD will assist these persons to find jobs any faster than they do at present.

The second group, those determined to need job training, will be assigned to such existing training programs as the Work Incentive Programs (WIN), Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) programs, New Careers, the Concentrated Employment Program, apprenticeship, and something called the National Alliance of Businessmen's Job Opportunities in the Business Section. The WIN program, which is to be the main agent for this purpose, is to be altered to provide more openings for AFDC unemployed fathers, additional "public assistance work projects," and increased pressure on enrollees to decide whether or not they will stay in the program.

The WIN Program was begun in 1967 to provide counseling, training and job placement services intended to place adult AFDC recipients in regular employment. County social welfare departments are responsible for referring adult AFDC recipients to the program and providing related services for their families. The Department of Human Resources Development administers the program itself, and it is now available in 27 counties. For 1971-72 the state is to meet the full cost ($2.2 million) of the county social welfare function and 20 percent ($5.7 million) of the HRD employment cost. The federal government will fund 80 percent ($22.9 million) of the HRD function. This will provide a total of 17,600 training slots for the year. Approximately 50 percent of those who enter the program complete training.

The Governor's plan goes on to say that those who are employable but can't find work or refuse training "will be expected to participate in public assistance work in those areas of public need which serve the good of society and the best interests of the community." It also says that such participation "will be temporary, pending permanent job placement." This work is to be "generally part-time," to involve some training and development of work habits, and to meet "an otherwise unfilled genuine public need." Among the suggested examples of such work are clean-up after oil spills and natural disasters, park maintenance, recycling of waste products, schoolyard monitoring, and child care.

"Unfortunately, the facts surrounding welfare have become so totally distorted and misinterpreted that even the most responsible critics find it impossible to address the real issues."

HEW Under-Secretary,
John Veneman

On March 19th the Administration announced it had inventoried state government and found 10,450 job opportunities for welfare recipients. Recipients will be expected to fill these jobs in return for their welfare grants, but will be required to work only up to the hourly equivalent of their grants. About half (4,492) are jobs to be performed in the Department of Conservation in areas such as fire prevention, maintenance and natural resource preservation. The other 5,958 job opportunities were found in other state agencies. They included 2,002 clerical jobs (typing, filing); 2,689 maintenance jobs (buildings and grounds, roads and roadside rests); 426 personal contact jobs (place-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment, tutoring, counseling); 98 professional jobs (data processing, accounting) and 743 miscellaneous jobs (food services, parking lot attendants, vehicle maintenance).

The administration is presently working out the details with county welfare departments to get welfare recipients into these jobs. In addition, HRD officials hope to line up some 20,000 additional jobs in city and county government.

6. Medi-Cal Reform Plan

Medi-Cal, according to Governor Reagan, requires self-supporting citizens to pay "higher and higher taxes to finance medical benefits for welfare recipients that are two to three times greater than they can afford for themselves and their own families." In addition, it lacks "reasonable limitations or restraints on utilization of benefits" and does not "encourage a reasonable and uniform scope of health care benefits for all of California's needy citizens."

As a "first step in what must be an even longer range effort to create a master health plan for California," the governor proposed to cut back on the level of health care benefits provided through Medi-Cal and to make those benefits uniform for all who qualify for health care aid. Specifically, the reform plan includes these elements:

- State provided benefits will be extended to include about 800,000 children and adults who are not now on welfare or eligible for Medi-Cal but receive assistance from the counties under the "county option" program.
- Limitations on the use of a basic schedule of benefits will be established for all who are eligible.
- A supplemental schedule of benefits for physicians' services, hospitalization and drugs will be administered by the counties for those whose needs are not met by the basic schedule.
- Medi-Cal beneficiaries will be required to make "co-payments" of $1.00 per doctor or dentist visit, $1.00 per prescription, and $3.00 per day of hospitalization and nursing home care.
- As an option to the basic and supplemental benefits, the state will encourage the development of independent prepaid health plans for welfare recipients.

About 46 percent of the cost of this program is to be met by the federal government, with the balance shared in the ratio of 70 percent state funds and 30 percent county funds. It is expected by the administration that total county costs will be reduced by $38.5 million for 1971-72, while federal contributions will increase by $204.2 million.

Critics of this portion of the Governor's reform plan have focused on the reduced basic schedule of benefits. By basing Medi-Cal benefits on what he calls the "average citizen's plan" (what the average citizen can afford), they charge that the Governor is ignoring the substantial differences in needs between, for example, the aged and disabled, and the Governor's average citizen. Democrats such as Senator George Moscone say that if the average citizen does not get sufficient care, then his care should be improved rather than reducing care for others. There is no evidence, Moscone maintains, that Medi-Cal beneficiaries in significant numbers "receive or become eligible to receive benefits which exceed their actual needs," as the Governor claims.

County Reactions

County reaction to the welfare reform plan has been mixed. Sacramento officials believe the plan may cost the county an additional $4.4 million. The majority of supervisors in Los Angeles — where over 40 percent of the welfare population resides — have termed the plan a "piecemeal approach" to the problem that is not a "major overhaul of the concept of welfare at all." However, one supervisor went on to commend the Governor for "trying to bring some reform to the chaotic welfare mess."

The County Supervisors Association says that it likes and will support those features of the plan that would tighten eligibility standards for recipients, reduce allowable outside income, and generally permit fewer people to receive assistance. However, CSAC directors called the closed-end budget (fixing the amount of money for welfare each year without provision for funding unanticipated caseload increases) "the most dangerous financial aspect" of the Reagan plan. CSAC has also objected strongly to "the proposals . . . assigning to the counties the role of final provider for all needs . . . thereby increasing local welfare costs and local property tax rates."

The Governor, however, has personally reacted to the charges of "cost increases," by stating to the counties that "the rumors to the effect that any welfare and Medi-Cal reform program will increase the burden on county taxpayers are without any foundation whatsoever. In fact, most counties will actually save money."

Democratic Opposition

Several of California's Democratic congressmen, including Rep. James C. Corman, who is a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, have charged that it would be a very serious mistake for California to make any changes in welfare until it finds out what Congress will do this year. There is a good chance, they say, that Congress will agree to federalize a large part of welfare costs and program standards. A tentative plan now before the Ways and Means Committee would reduce California's state and county costs for welfare by $300 million to $400 million.

Welfare Director Carleson says, however, that the state cannot wait for Congress to act and that it must be assumed that the Reagan reform plan will be compatible with any "reasonable" changes Congress may enact. With President Nixon and House Ways and Means Chairman Wilbur D. Mills locked in legislative combat over a whole series of issues, and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare continuing to threaten to cut off federal welfare funds unless California revises its program, there is strong reason for the Reagan administration's position.

Nevertheless, it is also evident that Democrats in the State Senate and Assembly are far from ready to give the Governor what he wants, particularly those provisions of the reform plan which will work to reduce benefits and deny eligibility to many Californians. To date, the Democrats have said little more than that they favor federalization of welfare, but Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti has promised to produce a Democratic counter-proposal before the bill introduction deadline passes.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selection of presidential electors.

Each political party must, by state law, hold a convention after the biennial statewide primary election. These state conventions are held every two years in August in Sacramento. The convention delegations are composed of all the nominees for partisan state and national office, including the current office holders. The Republicans also designate 20 county chairmen, their national committeeman and committeewoman, and the chairmen and vice chairmen of the party's state central committee as members of their state convention.

State Central Committee

In California the election of statewide party officers is delegated to the statewide central committees of each party, which are made up of some 1,000 members. All the members of the state convention are members of the state central committee, as are all 58 county chairmen. Each of these may appoint three other members (one of the same sex and two of the opposite sex). State convention members in the Democratic party, if they are incumbents, may appoint two additional delegates to the central committee; Republican incumbents may appoint five additional delegates. Democrats also provide membership on the state central committee to the national committeeman and committeewoman and the immediate past party chairmen and two section chairmen.

The function of the party central committees is to conduct the party campaigns for state office and to elect the state chairman and other officers. In each party the chairmanship of the state central committee must alternate between the north and south every two years. The chairmen are elected for two year terms and may not succeed themselves.

The National Parties

The national parties have few formalities with the state party structure, except through the national committeeman and the committeewoman. Delegates to the national party conventions are chosen by the candidates in California's preferential Presidential primaries, each candidate having his own slate, which goes with him if he is successful.

Besides helping to select nominees for President and Vice President and to draft the national party platform, the delegations to the national convention also choose from among their numbers the national committeeman and committeewoman. As it is quite possible for these party officials to be committed to Presidential candidates who are out of favor with the state party chieftains, the national unit of the party can become a source of dissension and divisiveness within the state party — just as state party leaders can be disruptive for the national organizations.

Shadow Parties

The Progressives sought to uproot conventional party politics in California through fragmentation of the formal party structure. Voluntary, unofficial statewide federations of local political clubs soon emerged, however, to carry out traditional party duties.

The original function of these "unofficial" party organizations has been the pre-primary endorsement of candidates in an attempt to focus the party vote and to minimize divisiveness in each party. The value of such an association, relatively unencumbered by statutory restrictions, was initially shown by the California Republican Assembly (CRA). CRA, to a great extent, engineered the Republican victories that continued through the governorship of Goodwin Knight, despite a growing Democratic registration advantage in the state that dated back to the Depression.

The key to CRA success was the inclusion once more of local political managers in the statewide decision-making process. Local party members on the front lines were and are directly represented statewide through the affiliation of the local club with the state federation.

The Democrats followed the model of the CRA with the California Democratic Council (CDC) in 1952, a decision that many credit for their successes in the 1958 election. By the use of preprimary endorsements, CDC concentrated its strength and played a dominant role in capturing the state Legislature, the office of State Attorney General, a U.S. Senate seat, and the governorship.

Recent History

The fragmentation of the California Republican Assembly into splinter groups, however, and the subsequent fracture of the California Democratic Council over the war in Vietnam in the mid-sixties has significantly reduced the prestige of these unofficial political assemblies in California politics.

Assembly Speaker Jess Unruh, using his power to divert lobbyist money into critical campaign battles was able, throughout the late fifties and early sixties, to slowly build up his base of power. By the mid-sixties, Unruh had assumed de facto leadership of Democratic politics in California, and was engaged in a running battle with the CDC. The legislature, on Unruh's insistence, passed a bill in 1963 that required volunteer groups to identify themselves in all their literature as independent, non-party organizations. The measure was intended as an undisguised attempt to take from the CDC its most important function, the pre-primary endorsement of the candidates.

In its heyday the CRA, of all the political federations, had come closest to fitting the shadow party image, exhibiting a clinical detachment from ideological conflict in its uncomplicated promotion of winning Republican candidates. However, CRA, too, has become embroiled in ideological conflict within the party. The Democratic sweep in the 1958 elections came as a harsh blow to the CRA. It took five years for Republicans to regroup. Under the leadership of Republican State Chairman Gaylord Parkinson, who took office in 1963, the formal party structure became the hub of Republican activity. Republican victories in 1964, 1966 and 1968 resulted from the strategies of formal party officials.

Parkinson's Cal Plan channeled attention and resources to vulnerable Democratic legislative districts and progressively increased the Republican member-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ship in Sacramento. Parkinson's "eleventh commandment" prohibiting intraparty squabbling in the primary was a reflection of the greater interest the new leadership put on winning elections, often at the expense of ideological niceties. Republican reliance on a well-staffed state central committee, and several strong county committees, helped gain party victories in the sixties.

The Republican organization contrasted sharply with the meager professional resources provided Democratic candidates by the formal party structure. The only paid professional staff available to the Democrats as they approached the 1970 elections were the legislative aides in Sacramento.

The 1970 election brought Democratic majorities to both houses of the Legislature but placed only one Democrat in statewide office. This balance of strength and the forthcoming reapportionment provide a new challenge to the two parties and their leadership as they write the current chapter in the history of California politics.

New Party Leadership

Two months ago the Democratic party officials met in Sacramento over the weekend of January 22-24 and selected former Tunney aide Charles Manatt as their new state chairman in a close race against Congressman George Brown. The Republicans, meeting the following week, with the supporters of Governor Ronald Reagan in firm control of the party machinery, elevated Putnam Livermore, party vice chairman, to succeed State Senator Dennis Carpenter to the chairmanship.

The men who have been selected to guide their parties' fortunes are now two months closer to the day in November of 1972 when the success of their terms in office will be judged. For both parties the prospects and problems are infinite, as both the Republicans' "Put" Livermore and the Democrats' "Chuck" Manatt start anew to build operational organizations for their parties.

Republican Leadership

In Livermore, Republicans have elected as their leader a prominent San Francisco attorney who served for several years as chairman of the San Francisco County Central Committee. In his new position, Livermore continues a pattern of party succession that dates at least to the early sixties when the top state party job was filled by a former county chairman from another large metropolitan district, Dr. Gaylord Parkinson from San Diego County. State Senator Dennis Carpenter, Livermore's predecessor, was chairman of the Orange County Central Committee before moving up in the state party hierarchy. Livermore had the support of Governor Reagan in 1969 when he won the vice-chairmanship of the state party and was actively involved in the 1966 gubernatorial race.

Watch Over Reapportionment

One of new state chairman's principal tasks, for which he is well-suited, will be to follow closely the reapportionment moves by the Democratic majority in the Legislature. Livermore, a party moderate, received considerable public notice in 1967 when he personally filed suit to challenge the 1966 Democratic reapportionment in the courts.

Gordon Luce, the new vice chairman of the Republican Party in California and as such heir-apparent to Livermore, is an exception to the party advancement rule. Luce is a businessman from San Diego without a history of heavy involvement in party politics. A graduate of Stanford School of Business, Luce rapidly achieved prominence in business circles and served the Reagan admininistration for three years as Secretary of the Business and Transportation Agency before returning to his San Diego business interests. When he moves up to party chairman in 1973, he will be in a position to help Reagan if the Governor chooses to run for re-election or makes a bid for the U.S. Senate seat of Alan Cranston.

Luce was chosen by Reagan well before the January convention, primarily to forestall a developing battle for the vice chairmanship spot between moderate candidate Cliff Anderson and Assemblyman Bill Campbell. Campbell claimed support of the conservative wing of the party and many Republican legislators in Sacramento. He dropped out of the vice chairmanship race before the convention, but again emerged as an active candidate for the position of party secretary against incumbent Paul Haerle who was endorsed by Governor Reagan. Haerle, who ultimately won re-election, was northern California chairman of Reagan's 1970 campaign and operations director for the Governor at the Republican National Convention in Miami

Manatt Emerges as Organization Man

The new Democratic chief, Charles Manatt, achieved prominence as a principal engineer of John Tunney's successful campaign for the U.S. Senate. Manatt, a 34-year-old Van Nuys attorney who got his political start as the national executive director of the Young Democrats in 1960, won a narrow victory over Congressman George Brown in securing the state chairmanship. Brown, whose forces did not appear to be well organized, came only ten votes from winning election in what was originally a three-way battle that included former Southern California chairman Leon Cooper. Cooper's withdrawal before the second ballot, and some quick politicking by Rep. James Corman of Van Nuys and National Committeewoman Carmen Warschaw, a Cooper supporter, threw critical votes to Manatt, giving him 428 to Brown's 418 on the second ballot.

Jack Brooks, a real estate developer from San Leandro and a close ally of rising Democratic star State Senator George Moscone, was elected to the chairmanship of the party's northern section. Brooks is a strong candidate for the Democratic chairmanship in 1973, when the job must shift to a northern party leader. Mrs. Myrlie Evers, wife of murdered civil rights worker Medgar Evers, won an overwhelming vote as head of the southern women's division.

(Continued on next page)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since the convention, Democratic chief Manatt has been working hard to coalesce party activity around the State Central Committee. In several trips to Washington in the last month and a half, Manatt has met with national party leaders and potential presidential candidates in an attempt to convince them to rely more heavily on the state party machinery for fund raising during the coming 1972 campaign and to avoid the vicious presidential primary battles that so easily shatter the fragile unity among California Democrats. Within the state, Manatt has suggested a series of regional conferences to be directed at strengthening ties between local and state units.

New Directions

Both parties have made major attempts in the last few years to substitute party rule and partisan politics for the personal politics that have been the California way for decades. The Republicans pioneered in modern, ideologically detached political engineering in 1963 with Dr. Gaylord Parkinson's Cal Plan and the "eleventh commandment." Failure of the 1970 version of the Cal Plan, and defeat of its 1970 chairman Clifford Anderson in his bid for state chairman, might suggest a Republican turn from the Parkinson sponsored Cal Plan strategy. However, both Livermore and Luce appear to remain committed to that strategy.

For the Democrats the alternatives are less precise. In recent years, campaign strategies and organization have come primarily from Democratic leaders in the state Senate and Assembly. Whether Manatt is able to develop a strong role for the official party organization depends on his ability to prove he can make a significant contribution with the few resources at his command.

Legislative Computer System

Legislators in Minnesota are assisted by a computerized text editing system in accomplishing their legislative work. The system uses 14 terminals and a line printer linked by dataphone with an IBM 360 computer to assist with bill drafting, reproduction and recording. As an example, all 1969 Minnesota statutes are stored in the computer. When preparing bills, the terminal operator can withdraw the section of the statutes affected, insert the new language, strike the old, print out the proposed legislation with all the required markings at 2,000 words per minute, and store the proposal for future retrieval and reference.

State Housing Agencies

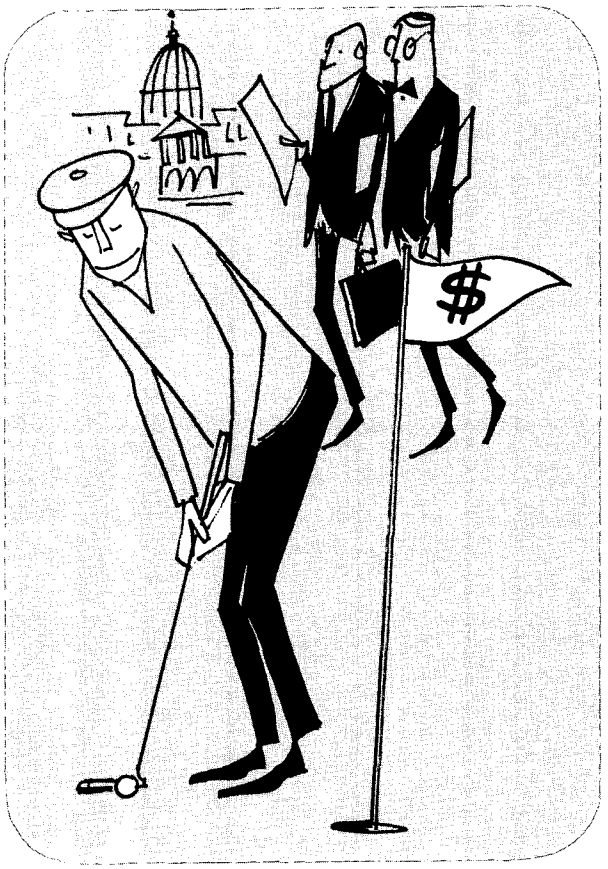
State housing finance agencies to assist in the financing of housing for low- and moderate-income families now have been established in at least 16 states, including Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, and legislation has been proposed or interest shown in 12 others.

Lobbyists Register for Legislative Session

Registration figures for the third house are up from last year. With a little more than three months of the legislative session gone by, a majority of the lobbyists have already registered with the Joint Committee on Legislative Advocate Registration. The figures now stand at 490 registered lobbyists for the 1971 Legislative Session as compared with 460 registered by the end of last year. These 490 legislative advocates represent the interests of some 535 organizations statewide.

Although the registration list is never complete with lobbyists registering through the year, Margaret Smith, Consultant to the joint committee remarked, "We have never had so many register so early in the session." She attributed this to the change in jurisdiction for the registration operation from the Legislative Analyst's office to an independent committee under the aegis of Joint Rules. To facilitate the change, an early mailing was sent out to all lobbyists providing information on the new location and on the registration procedure, together with registration forms. This mailing has brought in a large return and will be repeated annually.

A directory of all registered lobbyists, including photographs, is due in early April. That publication will document the fact that one man may lobby for anywhere from one to fourteen different organizations. Robert J. Beckus has the distinction of representing the most groups — 14 in all, and H. B. (Pete) Sandford runs a close second with 11 groups.



Hugo

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON
By Lou Cannon

March 21, 1971

What Makes Waldie Run?

He has grown weary from fighting the losing battle inside the California delegation every week, weary of the clashes with Chet Holifield and John Moss, weary of the congressional anonymity that neither hometown headlines nor the wrath of the Metropolitan Water District can overcome.

He sits in his office with the radio turned on and idly throws green and red and yellow darts across the room at the white hard-hat given him by the Bay Area Rapid Transit District in the same month that "hard-hat" became a symbol of support for the war.

"I've never hit it yet," says Rep. Jerome Waldie of Antioch with a grin that remains boyish at 46.

Waldie has spent nearly 13 of those 46 years as a legislator, eight of them in the California Assembly where he was an effective majority leader during Assembly Speaker Jess Unruh's heyday, and five in the House of Representatives where he emerged from obscurity last year with a daring challenge to then House Speaker John McCormack. Now, Waldie wants to be governor of California, and he has embarked on a four-year campaign which outrages political tradition almost as much as his personal challenge to McCormack violated the customs of the House.

Waldie had the reputation in the Assembly for being among the shrewdest political calculators in either party, and he is a calculator now, a calculator who correctly foresaw that a challenge to McCormack would help the cause of House reform, not hurt it. Jerry Waldie's present calculation is that he can overcome the disadvantage of unwealth by starting early and by insuring that his name is included on all the gubernatorial lists compiled by political reporters, party activists and prospective contributors.

"If I had several hundred thousand dollars of my own that I could invest as seed money, hoping I could get it back in contributions, I probably would wait until after the 1972 elections," Waldie said. "But I don't, and I want to be included in all the speculation . . . "

This is the kind of calculating that requires a rare sort of political candor, and Waldie is equal to it.

"I've forsaken the traditional way not because I think it is wrong but because I couldn't see how it applies to me," Waldie says. "If someone could show me how it applies to me, I might think differently about it."

The traditional way in California, at least among Democrats, is to be overcome with coyness at the mere mention of either the governorship or the U.S. Senate. Pat Brown, who in 1968 was the only Democratic vote-getter in sight, exemplified the tradition by shyly refusing to commit himself until the eve of the campaign which ended in a Democratic landslide. Unruh, who formally announced for governor in 1969, 11 months ahead of time, was starting early. John Tunney, who never lacked for seed money, seemed remarkably pushy to some Democrats when he told them two years before the battle that he was seeking a Senate seat.

Of course, Waldie may well be right in his belief that a man ought not be "foolishly humble" about declaring his interest in the governorship. Television is a powerful persuader, and it easily persuades long-shot candidates (presidential aspirant George McGovern, for instance) that they must start early if they are to start at all.

But Waldie is far from the typical long-shot. Despite his professed anti-establishment bias and his 96 percent Americans for Democratic Action voting record, Waldie is backing the middle-of-the-road front-runner, Senator Edmund Muskie, in the 1972 presidential competition. In 1968 he served on the establishment Democratic presidential delegation that was formally pledged to Atty. Gen. Tom Lynch after President Johnson's withdrawal, even though Waldie became a more outspoken critic of the war than some members of the Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy delegations.

The mystery, or part of it, is solved by an examination of Waldie's political base, which financially, at least, is centered about those mainstream Democrats who supported Pat Brown. Waldie even hopes to have the assistance of such Democratic wheels as Beverly Hills attorney Eugene Wyman, and he is not reluctant to declare that he will ask Wyman for a contribution. Waldie also remains close to Don Bradley, a political architect for California Democrats in victory and in defeat. And he remains an effective spokesman for Northern California on the only issue that really divides north and south politically — the completion of the California Water Plan and the peripheral canal.

It is conventional wisdom that a northerner cannot win in the south on this issue (indeed, in some quarters, it is conventional wisdom that a Northern Californian can no longer win the governorship in any case), and Waldie has squarely challenged this collective judgment by campaigning against the peripheral canal in Southern California.

He has no illusions that it will be easy. "It's going to take some explanation of my view that the water plan as presently proposed is as detrimental to the south as it is to the north, because it's primarly designed for real estate developers to permit uncontrolled expansion of the Los Angeles basin," Waldie says. "I'm inclined to think that the people who live in Los Angeles really are not delighted with the prospects of developing deserts that can't sustain life in further subdivisions that make their problems greater . . . their problem is air, not water."

While Waldie's stand on the water issue requires explanation, it also protects his base in Contra Costa County where the peripheral canal is synonymous with

(Continued on page 85)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Newsletters Provide Specialized State News

Listed below is a representative sampling of newsletters that chronicle the legislative scene in areas of special interest. These represent only a small cross-section of the great variety of newsletters published by non-governmental agencies during the legislative session.

Agricultural Council of California Legislative Newsletter. Published periodically by the Agricultural Council of California, 1010 11th St., Sacramento 95814. Free to member groups and to interested individuals (on a liimted basis). Provides digests of bills in agriculture and agribusiness.

California AFL-CIO News. Published weekly by the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, 995 Market St., San Francisco 94103. $3.50 per year. A publication covering state labor news including articles on current labor and health and welfare legislation. Publishes a bill digest supplement for all bills directly or indirectly affecting all segments of labor and industry.

California Association for Mental Health Newsletter. Published monthly by the California Association for Mental Health, Suite 212, 901 H St., Sacramento 95814. Free to chapters and interested individuals. Three-quarters of this publication is allocated to mental health programs and developments around the state, with a page on current related legislation. Frequently publishes a *Public Affairs Memo* to recommend attention to and action on a specific subject.

The California Consumer. Published monthly by the Association of California Consumers, 3030 Bridgeway, Sausalito 94965. Association membership, including subscription, $6; $3 subscription rate to non-members. A newsletter covering consumer interests with a regular column, "The Hot Line: Sacramento" capsuling legislative developments in the consumer field.

California Farm Bureau Federation Legislative Newsletter. Published as needed by the California Farm Bureau Federation, 11th and L Bldg., Sacramento 95814. Limited to Farm Bureau members and interested individuals (on a limited basis). A digest of bills in the agricultural and environmental fields with occasional sections on other subjects — taxation, 18 year old vote, etc.

California Home Economics Association Legislative Newsletter. Published monthly by Barbara Erickson, Legislative Chairman, CHEA, 7373 Willowlake Way, Sacramento 95831. $3 a year to non-members. Follows legislation in the areas of consumer affairs, women's issues, and family life education.

California Legislation. Published semimonthly by California Social Workers Organization, 2527 Forbes Avenue, Santa Clara 95050. $5 a year to non-members. A summary of welfare legislation during the current session with general articles on developments in the state welfare program.

California Teachers Association Legislative Letter. Published weekly by the California Teachers Association, Governmental Relations Office, Suite 450, Eleventh and L Bldg., Sacramento 95814. Available to CTA members only. Comprehensive coverage of pending state education legislation.

County Supervisors Association of California Legislative Bulletin. Published weekly by County Supervisors Association, Elks Bldg., Sacramento 95814. For local government officials only. Each bulletin is a briefing on bills of significance to counties. Also publishes semimonthly *CSAC News* on statewide programs and developments in field of county government.

Calfiornia Today Legislative Report. Published monthly by the Planning and Conservation League, 909 Twelfth St., Sacramento 95814. Subscription included as part of membership fee: $10, regular; $3, student; $25, sponsoring; $100, patron. Reflecting the PCL's watchdog role for environmental concerns, the newsletter chronicles PCL activities statewide and documents current environmental legislation.

FCL Newsletter. Published monthly except Aug.-Sept. (when bimonthly) by the Friends Committee on Legislation of California, 2160 Lake St., San Francisco 94121. $6 per year; $3 per year for students. A thorough run-down on social action legislation at both the state and federal levels with particular emphasis on penal reform, health and welfare, housing and civil rights and liberties. FCL also publishes special *Action Bulletins* as needed on specific subjects, e.g., penal reform, housing, farm labor, malnutrition, etc.

Housing Legislation Newsletter. Published semimonthly by the California Housing Coalition, 2160 Lake St., San Francisco 94121 or Suite 209, 4034 Buckingham Rd., Los Angeles 90008. Yearly subscription rates: $5, low income endorsing groups; $25, mid-income endorsing groups; $50, non-endorsing groups; and $10 for individuals. Follows legislation in fields of rural and urban low-income housing, community development, and tenant-landlord relations.

League of California Cities Legislative Bulletin. Published one to three times per month by League of California Cities, 1108 O St., Sacramento 95814. For local government officials. Comprehensive analyses of legislation affecting cities including summaries of League positions and an extensive bill digest.

Legislative News Alert. Published weekly February through July and monthly September through January by the California Church Council, 1300 N St., Sacramento 95814. $4 per year. A two-page digest of current legislation in social action fields, e.g., education, health and welfare, voting rights, penal reform, civil rights, and state finance.

NAACP Legislative Report. Published during legislative session by Virna M. Canson, Legislative Advocate, NAACP, Rm. 227, 1025 9th St., Sacramento 95814. Free to chapters and interested individuals.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A legislative newsletter written for NAACP members and comprehensive in coverage.

On the Capitol Doorstep. Published semimonthly by Genie McCreary and Emma Gunterman, Rm. 1037, Forum Bldg., Sacramento 95814. $15 per year for about 16 issues. A legislative bulletin with information on major bills concerning child welfare in the general areas of pre-school education, social and correctional institutions, nutrition, health, adoption, AFDC, the handicapped and mentally retarded.

Pacific Business Bulletin. Published monthly by the California State Chamber of Commerce, 455 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. $2.50 a year. Covering subjects of interest to chamber member organizations and includes a page on legislative items of general interest.

Sacramento Education Legislative Newsletter. Published weekly by the School Administrators Legislative Office, 926 J St., Sacramento 95814. $20.00 a year. A four-page bulletin on legislative developments in the areas of school finance, credentialing, teacher tenure, and related subjects.

Sacramento Newsletter. Published weekly by Agnes Booe, editor and publisher, 3362 Fulton Avenue, Sacramento 95821. $25 a year. In its 24th year of publication this four-page newsletter reports on major legislative developments and governmental actions.

Skirting the Capitol. Published semimonthly by editor-publisher Marian Ash, P.O. Box 4569, Sacramento 95825. $15 a year. A legislative newsletter concerned with political, legislative and governmental problems and issues affecting women.

CANNON *(Continued from page 83)*

environmental destruction. And he will have to run again and win big in Contra Costa if he is to be taken seriously as a candidate for governor.

Waldie lists his liabilities as lack of money, the water issue and lack of name recognition, particularly in Southern California. But he hopes to turn the water issue into an advantage, and he thinks that lack of name recognition is also a strength within a weakness.

"I still think I'm a fairly fresh face on the political scene because I'm not known anyplace, and I'm inclined to think that California is ready for a fresh face," is the way Waldie puts it.

The "fresh face" talk is reminiscent of the old Sacramento parlor game of guessing whether Waldie could have advanced further by staying in the state capitol or going to Washington. It's five years since he left, and Waldie himself isn't sure. Most likely, neither he nor the second-guessers ever will be.

"There have been some pluses in Washington, primarily my identification with House reform and with conservation," says Waldie. "And then there is another thing, upon which I can only speculate. I was quite establishment-oriented in Sacramento, and I suspect the more I remained there the more establishment I would have become. I'm not at all certain that the attitudes I now possess would have been clear to me if I had continued in a leadership role in the Legislature."

Waldie believes that the potential for political exposure is infinitely greater in the Legislature than in the House, a belief which is supported by any comparison of newspaper and television coverage. "But your potential for becoming a used commodity is far greater, too," he adds.

Waldie says he had no thoughts of running for governor when he moved to Washington," else I would not have come here." But he was mindful of an ancient political analogy which Assemblyman William Bagley was fond of using to describe the Unruh electoral fortunes. "I was confronted with the thing that every man in politics is confronted with," says Waldie. "Moving from assemblyman to congressman is a step up, and you really have to get on that streetcar when it passes. If you let the streetcar go by, you may never get the chance to get on another."

PROPERTY TAX *(Continued from page 73)*

their message to the legislators. Although they profess to believe that the state property tax has little support in Sacramento, the fact that they have come together in this fashion clearly indicates some apprehension. The San Francisco school district is not a member of this organization, apparently because it wishes to maintain the distinction between its position as a major urban district and that of the others which stand out simply as small, wealthy districts.

Among the major school organizations represented in Sacramento, the School Boards Association supports the state property tax without qualification, as does the California Teachers Association. The California Association of School Administrators and related organizations, however, are prepared to back the state tax only as long as it is coupled with a large increase in state support from other sources.

State School Superintendent Wilson Riles has made it clear in recent days that he also supports the proposed $3.75 state property tax only so long as it is accompanied by an increase of $397 million in other state revenues for school support. He has said he would not support a statewide tax alone.

The California Taxpayers Association is on record as supporting the statewide property tax. So is the California Real Estate Association, but only if local property taxes are reduced at the same time and a constitutional limit is set on all property taxes. Representatives of the California Farm Bureau Federation say that their organization opposes a statewide property tax because they oppose any move which will increase reliance upon property taxes for school support. Schools, they say, are more properly supported by income and sales taxes.

Opponents of the state property tax believe that if adoption of such a tax becomes a real possibility this session other third house interests such as Pacific Gas and Electric, the California Cattleman's Association, the Wine Institute, the oil companies, and Southern California Edison will join in the opposition. It has not been necessary for these interests to lobby actively against the proposal in the past, however, because it has had so little support. The same may be true this year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

California Journal/*NEWSBRIEFS*

Legislature Opposes Southern Crossing

Opposition to the proposed $300 million Southern Crossing bridge over San Francisco Bay, a source of continuing controversy during recent sessions of the Legislature, picked up overwhelming support this session in both houses with legislative approval of AB 151 by Assemblyman Robert Crown of Alameda (see Voting Records). The bill, now before Governor Reagan, prohibits construction of the bridge without permission of the Legislature.

Last month, the State Toll Bridge Authority gave unanimous approval for construction to proceed. Administration representatives testified against the bill at committee hearings arguing that the bridge would relieve traffic congestion and ease the load on the Bay Bridge. Conservationists opposed the bridge on grounds it would encourage the use of smog-producing automobiles in an area already burdened with air pollution problems.

Governor Reagan indicated that he would probably take the full 12 days allotted to him to decide whether he would sign the bill and that the legislators will have to prove to him they speak for the people in the Bay Area. "I'm greatly concerned that everyone seems to be speaking for the people of the Bay Area, and they are very presumptuous because there are so many," he said.

Senate Committee Moves to Study Rapid Transit Link

Another bridge became a source of legislative attention when Senate Public Utilities and Corporations Committee chairman Alfred Alquist of San Jose accused the Business and Transportation Agency of "thumbing their nose" at the formal legislative request to study the feasibility of extending the Bay Area Rapid Transit system to Sacramento. In its report to the Legislature, the agency said a detailed study would cost about $200,000 and since the funds were limited, the Sacramento link wasn't important enough to merit further study at this time. The committee moved to undertake its own study, and Alquist indicated he would propose legislation to prohibit the Public Works Department from planning a new Antioch Bridge until the committee's study is completed. BART general manager B. R. Stokes told the committee the Antioch Bridge was the only feasible route to link up with Sacramento.

State Supreme Court Rules Against Welfare Benefit Reductions

Governor Reagan's "rateable reduction" in welfare benefits adopted by administrative ruling in November, 1970, was ruled invalid by the State Supreme Court. In a unanimous opinion, the court said that the Legislature alone had the authority to change benefit levels established by state law. When the state runs out of funds for welfare grants, said the court, it must either get additional funds from the Legislature or get authority to make percentage ("rateable") reductions in benefits.

The state is once again threatened with a cutoff in federal welfare funds April 2nd — but not actually effective until July 1st — unless it raises benefits by 15 percent, at a cost of at least $21.5 million, or enacts new welfare laws by June 30th. Enactment of any new laws, such as the Governor's Welfare Reform Plan, would require a two-thirds vote, however, to become effective in time.

Tempest Over Un-American Activities Committee

The State Senate buried its old Sub-Committee on Un-American Activities this month, but not before creating a tempest surrounding the move. The central figure in the controversy was President pro Tem James Mills of San Diego, who first proposed retaining the subcommittee but under a different name and with restricted duties. Mills then moved to abolish the Un-American Activities group, leaving nothing in its place, with the disclosure that the subcommittee was keeping files on about 20,000 Californians, including himself and other members of the Legislature.

When the matter went before the Rules Committee, Mills proposed a compromise plan to exchange the Subcommittee on Un-American Activities for a brand new Subcommittee on Civil Disorders. By unanimous vote the Rules Committee followed the recommendation, appointed two Democrats and two Republicans as subcommittee members, and appointed one of the Republicans, Dennis E. Carpenter of Irvine, as chairman. Elected to the Senate at a special election last year, Carpenter is a former FBI agent and Republican State Party Central Committee Chairman.

The Rules Committee also followed Mills' recommendation that the files be stored in State Archives with a prohibition on inspection of the records by anyone without Rules Committee approval.

Senator H. L. Richardson, who opposed the changes, called them "a tactical, political maneuver".

State Will Have to Borrow In September, Orr Says

State Finance Director Verne Orr confirmed on March 20th that the state will have to borrow $48.2 million in September and $28 million in October to meet its obligations. Only enactment of income tax withholding effective July 1st would have averted the fiscal crisis, Orr noted, but there is no longer time to put a withholding

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

system into operation.

As a consequence, the state, which will have borrowed all that it can from various state trust funds, will have to go to registered warrants or tax anticipation notes to cover the deficit. As tax anticipation notes are believed to be less alarming to the public, they are the likely choice.

On the same day, State Controller Houston Flournoy reported that income tax and bank and corporation tax revenues were $30 million less in the first eight months of 1970-71, compared with the previous year, while sales taxes barely held even. Only an unusually sharp increase in tax revenues in the last four months of the fiscal year will bring state income up to the budget estimates, he noted.

Governor Shifts Position on Withholding Windfall

Governor Reagan's position of strong support for withholding was subject to a further shift when he indicated at his March 23rd press conference that he could support possible one-time uses of the so-called "windfall," or at least a portion of it, instead of insisting it all go back to the taxpayers. Reagan indicated that this would not be viewed as a tax increase because it is a tax obligation that the citizen has to government: "one windfall actually is not new or additional money, it is the money that is owed on the previous year's earnings."

Assembly Democrats Draft Tax Plan

Called by Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti the most significant proposal offered in this area at anytime in the history of the Legislature, another massive tax package was introduced March 25th. The $1.4 billion tax plan includes provisions which abolish property taxes on homes and shifts the burden to the personal income tax by adding a 12 percent surtax. Both Moretti and Assemblyman Joe Gonsalves of Norwalk, the chief author of the six-bill package, say they are ready to compromise to achieve passage of the bill.

Richardson Replaced By Harmer In Senate GOP Post

Republican Senator H. L. Richardson of Arcadia resigned following a caucus of Senate Republicans which failed to support his efforts to save the Senate's Subcommittee on Un-American Activities. Richardson denied, however, that the caucus action was the motivating factor in his decision. "As chairman", he explained, "I can't go around making statements I believe in strongly." Richardson said that as an example he wanted to oppose provisions of Governor Reagan's welfare proposals and President Nixon's revenue-sharing plan but felt he could not as a party leader.

Senate Republicans elected John L. Harmer of Glendale as their new caucus leader to replace Richardson. Both men are regarded as strong conservatives.

Governor Sets July Date For Senate Special Election

Governor Reagan set July 20th as the date for a special election to fill the 27th Senate District seat vacated by George Danielson on January 12th. The primary will be held June 22nd.

Democrats were dismayed at the timing of the election which they charge was delayed at considerable cost to the taxpayers to give Republicans their strongest opportunity to capture the 61.1 percent Democratic district. The mid-summer date is likely to produce a low turnout, benefiting Republicans, and will allow time for William Orozco, who is the probable Republican contender and a member of the Los Angeles Community College Board, to carry a re-election victory there into the Senate election.

Two Democratic Assemblymen, Alex Garcia and David Roberti, have announced their candidacies for the Los Angeles seat. Roberti has the advantage of representing two-thirds of the district, while Garcia is expected to benefit from his appeal to Mexican-Americans who comprise about a quarter of the electorate.

Meanwhile, the Senate Rules Committee made two temporary committee appointments until a new Senator is elected. Senator Nicholas Petris was named to the Health and Welfare Committee and Senate President pro Tem James Mills was added to the Transportation Committee.

State Board Recommends State Property Tax, Tenure Change

The State Board of Education, meeting in Sacramento on March 11th, voted 9-1 to support legislation to establish a $3.75 statewide property tax for support of the elementary and secondary schools plus the community colleges. The proposed tax, recommended by a special school finance study group and strongly backed by Superintendent Wilson Riles, would raise approximately $2.2 billion which, when matched by $2.1 billion in state funds and from other sources, would meet proposed basic program costs at all three levels.

At the same meeting the board also voted 9-1 to support legislation on teacher tenure which would make it possible to dismiss probationary teachers without a hearing, reduce the probationary period from three years to one, authorize the use of hearing officers in lieu of the superior courts for other dismissal cases, and require each school district to undertake some form of annual evaluation of its teaching staff.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

APPOINTED

Loren D. Archer, 41, coordinator of state alcoholism programs in the Human Relations Agency, as Executive Officer of the new Office of Alcohol Program Management, by Governor Reagan.

Charles A. Barrett, 50, chief assistant attorney general for civil law, as Chief Deputy Attorney General in the Department of Justice, by State Attorney General Evelle J. Younger. Barrett is a Democrat.

Mrs. Winifred H. Lancaster, 60, of Santa Barbara, member of the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges, to an unexpired term on the Board of Trustees of the California State Colleges, by Governor Reagan.

Robert Martin, 48, former Director of the State Department of Social Welfare, and deputy public defender, as special assistant to the Los Angeles County District Attorney, by District Attorney Joseph P. Busch, Jr.

Dr. William McColl, 40, West Covina orthopedic surgeon and president of the State Board of Public Health, to an eight-year term on the Board of Trustees of the California State Colleges, by Governor Reagan.

Kay Riddle, 32, of San Francisco, former special assistant to the Director of the Peace Corps, to a four-year term on the California Women's Board of Terms and Parole, by Governor Reagan.

Herbert R. Temple, Jr., 43, military assistant to the Governor and commandant of the California Military Academy, as director of the Office of Emergency Service (formerly the California Disaster Office), by Governor Reagan.

John S. Tooker, 36, special assistant to Secretary of the Resources Agency, Norman P. Livermore, as Deputy Director of the newly-created State Office of Planning and Research, by Governor Reagan.

Norman E. Watts, Jr., 28, vice president of a California land development company, to an unexpired term on the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges, by Governor Reagan.

Wendell W. Witter, 60, of Dean Witter and Company in San Francisco and former president of the University of California Alumni Association, to an eight-year term on the Board of Trustees of the California State Colleges, by Governor Reagan.

ELECTED

Herbert Jackson, 35, a partner in the Sacramento law firm of Evans, Jackson, and Kennedy and past deputy district attorney for both Alameda and Sacramento Counties, as chairman of the California State Commission on Government Organization and Economy (the "Little Hoover" commission).

RESIGNED

Phillip V. Sanchez, 40, as a member of the Board of Trustees of the California State Colleges. Formerly a member of the Board of Governors of the California Community Colleges, he was appointed by Governor Reagan to Board of Trustees in 1970.

CALIFORNIA CALENDAR

Meetings of the following state boards and commissions are listed each month; if one of these boards is not listed, it can be assumed that it is not scheduled to meet this month. Boards and commissions to be included are: Board of Corrections; Trustees of the California State Colleges; California Community Colleges Board of Governors; Coordinating Council for Higher Education; Board of Education; Highway Commission; Little Hoover Commission; Commission on Housing and Community Development; Lands Commission; Park and Recreation Commission; University of California Board of Regents; and Social Welfare Board.

April 15	**Department of Housing and Community Development.** Rm. B109, 1350 Front St., San Diego. 9:30 a.m. Public hearings on development of state guidelines for local housing elements.
April 15-16	**Board of Education.** Auditorium, Resources Bldg., 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento. 9:00 a.m. **University of California Board of Regents.** University Extension Center. Los Angeles.
April 21-22	**California Community Colleges Board of Governors.** Cockatoo Inn, Los Angeles. 9:30 a.m. **California Highway Commission.** Public Works Bldg., 1120 N St., Sacramento. 10:00 a.m.
April 22-23	**Social Welfare Board.** Marina Del Rey Hotel, Los Angeles. 4/22 — 7:30 p.m., 4/23 — 9:00 a.m.
April 23	**Little Hoover Commission.** Los Angeles. 10:00 a.m.
April 29	**Lands Commission.** Rm. 2170, State Capitol, Sacramento. 10:00 a.m.
May 4	**Coordinating Council for Higher Education.** Camellia Room, Sacramento Metropolitan Airport. 9:00 a.m.

The following boards and commissions follow a standard monthly schedule and thus are not included in the Calendar: Board of Agriculture, first Thursday of each month; Allocation Board, second Tuesday; San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission, first and third Thursdays; Merit Award Board, second Wednesday; Public Works Board, last Monday; Reclamation Board, second and fourth Fridays; Soil Conservation Commission, fourth Tuesday; Transportation Board, first Thursday; California Water Commission, first Friday; and Water Resources Control Board, first and third Thursdays. Please contact the agency for meeting time and place.

Republican Assemblyman William T. Bagley, author of a bill last year to exempt from the sales tax white canes, bibles, Mother's Day cards, and apple pie, is considering introduction of a similar bill this year. This year's bill would exempt windmills from property taxes.

In addition to promoting the "only source of power that is completely pollution free . . . the bill would be a boon to the depressed windmill construction industry," he argues. As a bonus, he points out, "it will provide something tangible for the Governor to joust with."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOTING RECORDS

Listed below are the votes of Senators and Assemblymen on the major roll calls in the Legislature through this month and a brief summary of the issues under consideration. Votes selected for inclusion are on issues of major importance to Californians as a whole or issues on which there is a major division of opinion, or both.

Y—Yes
N—No
*—Absent or Not Voting

⅔ vote required for urgency measures, constitutional amendments, appropriation bills.

Assembly: 41 votes required for passage of bills requiring majority vote. ⅔=54 votes.

Senate: One vacancy. 21 votes required for passage of bills requiring majority vote. ⅔=27 votes.

SENATE

Pro Tem —Election of Senator James R. Mills as President pro Tempore of the Senate, 40-0.

SB 85 (Grunsky) — Extends peace officer status to regularly employed county coroners and deputy coroners. Passed 27-7.

SB 142 (Teale) — Provides that when Senate fails rather than refuses to confirm Governor's appointee by the end of the session, such appointee does not hold over in office, and office becomes vacant unless appointee is granted interim appointment. Passed 23-4.

SB 204 (Harmer & Lagomarsino) — Specifies that an intent to incite or to produce imminent lawless action at a time, place, and under circumstances that are likely to produce imminent lawless action shall be prosecuted under Criminal Syndicalism Law. Passed 24-8.

SCA 1 (Moscone) — Lowers voting age to 18, eliminates literacy requirement for voting, and changes state, county and precinct residency requirements to 30 days for each. Passed 28-9.

AB 151 (Crown) — Prohibits construction of San Francisco Southern Crossing without approval of Legislature. Passed 30-5.

ASSEMBLY

Speaker — Election of Assemblyman Bob Moretti as Speaker of the Assembly, 75-0.

AB 20 (Burton) — Restores Medi-Cal benefits and services to the level provided on December 1, 1970. Urgency measure refused adoption, 45-32.

AB 151 (Crown) — Prohibits construction of San Francisco Southern Crossing without approval of Legislature. Passed 54-7.

AB 162 (Cullen) — Requires Public Utilities Commission to submit copies of its budget requests to Joint Legislative Budget Committee. Failed 32-29.

AB 586 (Special Committee on Medi-Cal; Duffy, Chairman) — Restores Medi-Cal program level of services and payment per service in state and county facilities and programs to those in effect on December 1, 1970. Passed 54-22.

AJR 6 (Brathwaite) — Urges federal government to take action to insure long range stability for housing construction by providing funding which cannot be cut off. Adopted 41-26.

SCR 36 (Mills) — Recesses 1971 Legislature on July 30, 1971 and reassembles for veto session August 30, 1971. Adopted 58-8.

AB 123 (Barnes) — Permits changing name of "state colleges" to "state university and colleges." Passed 46-22.

SENATE

Democrats — 20	Pro Tem	SB 85	SB 142	SB 204	SCA 1	AB 151
MOSCONE	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y
PETRIS	Y	N	*	N	Y	Y
RODDA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SHORT	Y	N	*	Y	Y	N
SONG	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	N
STIERN	Y	N	Y	*	Y	Y
TEALE	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y
WALSH	Y	N	*	Y	Y	*
WEDWORTH	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
ZENOVICH	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
ALQUIST	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
BEILENSON	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y
CARRELL	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y
COLLIER	Y	*	Y	N	Y	Y
DILLS	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*
DYMALLY	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*
GREGORIO	Y	N	Y	N	Y	*
HOLMDAHL	Y	Y	*	*	N	*
KENNICK	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
MILLS	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y

Republicans — 19	Pro Tem	SB 85	SB 142	SB 204	SCA 1	AB 151
BEHR	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
BRADLEY	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
BURGENER	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y
CARPENTER	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
COLOGNE	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
COOMBS	Y	Y	*	Y	*	N
CUSANOVICH	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
DEUKMEJIAN	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y
GRUNSKY	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y
HARMER	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
LAGOMARSINO	Y	Y	*	Y	N	Y
MARKS	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y
MARLER	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
NEJEDLY	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
RICHARDSON	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
SCHRADE	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
STEVENS	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WAY	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
WHETMORE	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y

ASSEMBLY

Democrats — 43	Speaker	AB 20	AB 151	AB 162	AB 586	AJR 6	SCR 36	AB 123
BEE	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
BRATHWAITE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
BROWN	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	*	*
BURTON	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CHACON	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
CORY	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	*
CROWN	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
CULLEN	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DAVIS	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*
DEDDEH	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
DUNLAP	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
FENTON	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FONG	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
FORAN	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GARCIA	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
GONSALVES	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	*	*
GREENE, B.	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	N
GREENE, L.	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
JOHNSON, H.	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	*	*	*
KARABIAN	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KEYSOR	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
KNOX	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
LaCOSTE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MacDONALD	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
McALISTER	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
McCARTHY	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
MEADE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
MILLER	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	N	N
MORETTI	*	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PIERSON	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
PORTER	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
POWERS	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
QUIMBY	Y	Y	*	*	*	*	*	Y
RALPH	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
ROBERTI	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
RYAN	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
SIEROTY	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
THOMAS	Y	Y	*	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
TOWNSEND	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	*	Y
VASCONCELLOS	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
WARREN	Y	Y	Y	*	*	Y	*	N
WAXMAN	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y	N
Z'BERG	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y

Republicans — 37								
ARNETT	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
BADHAM	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	*
BAGLEY	Y	N	*	N	Y	*	*	*
BARNES	Y	N	Y	*	N	Y	Y	Y
BELOTTI	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y
BEVERLY	Y	N	Y	*	*	*	Y	Y
BIDDLE	*	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
BRIGGS	Y	N	Y	*	N	N	Y	Y
BURKE	*	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
CAMPBELL	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*	*	*
CHAPPIE	Y	Y	*	N	Y	N	Y	Y
CLINE	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
COLLIER	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
CONRAD	Y	N	*	N	N	N	Y	N
DENT	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
DUFFY	Y	N	Y	*	Y	*	Y	N
HAYDEN	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
HAYES	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
JOHNSON, R.	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	*
KETCHUM	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N
LANTERMAN	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	*
LEWIS	Y	N	*	*	*	*	*	*
MacGILLIVRAY	Y	N	*	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MADDY	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
MOBLEY	Y	Y	Y	*	Y	*	Y	Y
MONAGAN	Y	N	*	N	N	N	Y	N
MOORHEAD	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
MURPHY	Y	N	Y	N	Y	*	N	N
PRIOLO	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
RUSSELL	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
SCHABARUM	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
SEELEY	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N
STACEY	Y	*	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
STULL	*	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
WAKEFIELD	*	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
WILSON	Y	N	Y	*	N	Y	N	Y
WOOD	Y	N	Y	N	Y	*	Y	N

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Selected State Government Reports

EDUCATION

A Study of State School Fund Transportation Allowances to School Districts. California Department of Education, 721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. February 1971, 12 pages. A review of present procedures with recommendations on methods for simplification of the transportation reporting process.

Principles and Procedures of Campus Government. California Council for the Academic Community, Stanford, California. 1970, 58 pages. Treats the nature of universities and their goals; issues, tactics, procedures and style; information flow on campus; grievance procedures; legislative and judicial procedures.

ENVIRONMENT

California Environmental Law, A Guide, 1971. Educational Center for California Public Affairs, 226 W. Foothill Blvd., Claremont 91711. ($6.50 paperback). 1971, 171 pages. Includes 1970 changes and new laws relating to environmental quality in California.

California's Living Marine Resources and Their Utilization. Department of Fish and Game, Resources Agency, 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814. February 1971, 148 pages. An inventory and preliminary master plan for utilization of ocean fish resources.

Envirospace, Urbospace: What Should Be Done When the "Moon" Goes Over the Mountain or Thoughts on Thinkeries; by Martin H. Krieger. Institute of Urban and Regional Development, Center for Planning and Development Research, University of California, Berkeley 94704. October 1970, 16 pages.

Progress and Problems in Open-Space Assessments; by Ronald B. Welch. State Board of Equalization, 1020 N St., Sacramento 95814. November 1970, 11 pages. Paper prepared for delivery at the 1970 Joint Conference of County Assessors of California and State Board of Equalization held in San Diego.

Report of the Committee on Surface Mining for the State of California. Resources Agency, 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814. March 1971, 24 pages. Report urges state to deal with land use problems, including those involving mineral resources, on a regional basis with additional recommendations for a state mineral resources policy and a state mining plan.

Report of the State Geothermal Resources Board. Resources Agency, 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento 95814. February 1971, 35 pages. Summarizes significant geothermal development on state and private lands and makes recommendations for state action.

San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission Annual Report 1970. San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission, Rm. 320, 507 Polk St., San Francisco 94102. January 1971, 8 pages. Reviews policies in San Francisco Bay Plan, discusses permits issued or denied for bay fill projects, and cites unreseolved problems.

HEALTH AND WELFARE

California's Health, 1870-1970, Biennial Report. Department of Public Health, 2151 Berkeley Way, Berkeley 94704. December 1970, 48 pages. A special centennial edition of *California's Health* which chronicles California's special health problems over the past century.

Consolidation of Licensing, Standard Setting and Rate Setting. Human Relations Agency, 915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. February 1971, 5 pages.

Final Report of the Task Force on Absent Parent Child Support. State Social Welfare Board, 744 P St., Sacramento 95814. January 1971, 50 pages + appendices. Recommendations for more effective enforcement of child support obligations in the state.

Increased Physicians' Fees in California, 1970. California Medical Association, Bureau of Research and Planning, Socio-Economic Report v. 10, no. 11. San Francisco. November 1970, 8 pages. A discussion of increase in physicians' fees by 4.4 percent in first half of 1970, with attendant figures on the increase nationwide and increased costs in other categories of service.

Levels and Combinations of Skills for the Nursing Profession, A Report to the Legislature. Department of Public Health, 2151 Berkeley Way, Berkeley 94704. Offers a determination of the levels and combinations of skills needed to provide health care services and efficient utilization of personnel in the nursing profession.

Meeting the Challenge: A Responsible Program for Welfare and Medi-Cal Reform; Governor Ronald Reagan March 1971, 174 pages. (Limited supply available). Governor's comprehensive plan for welfare and Medi-Cal reform. The text of this report is reprinted in full in the Assembly Journal for March 3, pages 701-872, with appendices.

Report of the Assembly Special Committee on Medi-Cal. February 1971, various pagings. A preliminary report on Medi-Cal with an analysis of program cuts and their impact, and the committee's estimate of the Medi-Cal program deficit if cuts had not been made.

Special Report, Food Stamps for Strikers. Statewide Welfare Committee, California Chamber of Commerce, 455 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. March 1971, 16 pages. Report criticizes practice of allowing strikers to receive food stamps in abuse of original intent of Food Stamp Act of 1964.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Study to Determine What Drugs Have Dangerous Inter-Actions or Side Effects. Department of Public Health, 2151 Berkeley Way, Berkeley 94704. February 1971, 6 pages plus appendices. A study of specific drugs and warning statements for such drugs with recommendations for strengthening professional and consumer information.

Third Annual Report, Human Relations Agency. Human Relations Agency, 915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. February 1971, 5 pages. Reports to Legislature on development of specialized out-of-home care and supportive home care services.

PLANNING

The California Tomorrow Plan, A First Sketch. Published by California Tomorrow, 681 Market St., San Francisco 94105. March 1971, 38 pages. ($1 ea.) An approach to the design of a comprehensive plan for the future of California — its land, its cities and its people. The plan indicates the close relationship of physical and social problems with a demonstration of how they can be met under a single, easily understood set of policies and goals.

A New State Planning Start; by William L. Kahrl. *Cry California*, published by California Tomorrow, 681 Market St., San Francisco 94105. Winter 1970/71, 17+ pages. A discussion of the preliminary and final reports on state environmental goals and policy that the Governor must present in June of 1971 and March of 1972.

MISCELLANEOUS

California Law Revision Commission, Annual Report. California Law Revision Commission, School of Law, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305. December 1970, 56 pages. Report includes a calendar of topics selected by the commission for study, including studies-in-progress and topics intended for future study, with two recommendations to be submitted to 1971 Legislature.

California Women. 1971 Report of the Advisory Commission on the Status of Women, Suite 106, 1108 14th St., Sacramento 95814. March 1971, 75 pages. A summary of the Commission's work over the past 2 years including its findings and a series of recommendations.

Franchise Investment Law and Related Rules. Department of Corporations, 1421 11th St., Sacramento 95814. 1971, 48 pages.

Unless otherwise indicated, reports may be obtained by writing the appropriate committee or agency, c/o State Capitol, Sacramento, California 95814. Orders payable by check or money order only.

The Magnitude and Character of California's Population Growth; by Eduardo E. Arriaga, Kingsley Davis, Griffith M. Fenney, Thomas J. Espenshade, Donald J. Lauro. International Population and Urban Research, University of California, Berkeley. March 1971, various pagings. Prepared as a background paper for a Symposium on California Population Problems and Policies, sponsored by the California Assembly Science and Technology Advisory Council at Davis, March 10-11. A carefully researched background paper on California's patterns of population growth.

Production Training Corporation; Department of Human Resources Development, Farm Labor Services Division, Migrant Services, 800 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. 1970, 15 pages. A cooperative business venture by government and industry in providing on-the-job training and low cost housing units for California's migrant workers.

Recommendation and Study Relating to Counterclaims and Cross-Complaints, Joinder of Causes of Action, and Related Provisions. California Law Revision Commission, School of Law, Stanford University, Stanford, 94305. October 1970, 125 pages. A comprehensive review of a commission recommendation to 1971 Legislature.

Report of Subcommittee on Advocate Registration. Printed in full, Assembly Journal for February 24, 1971, pages 531-597. Complete list of approved legislative advocates for the 1971 Legislative session with a reverse list of organizations represented.

The States and the Arts: The California Arts Commission and the Emerging Federal-State Partnership; by Mel Scott. Institute of Governmental Studies, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley 94720. ($3 ea. plus sales tax). 1971, 129 pages. An examination of emergency federal-state partnership and its potential significance with sections on the history of the California Arts Commission and recommendations for strengthening the arts in California.

1970 Interim Report, Assembly Interim Committee on Elections and Constitutional Amendments. 1971, 47 pages. Report includes legislative recommendations on the establishment of a California Campaign Practices Commission, a change in the primary election date, and the possibility of mid-day ballot collection for counties using electronic voting systems.

BUDGET

Annual Analysis of the Budget Bill. Report of the Legislative Analyst to the Joint Legislative Budget Committee. March 1971, 1094 pages. Detailed analysis of the budget bill for fiscal year 1971-72.

1971-1972 Governor's Budget Summary. Department of Finance. February 1971, 96 pages. A capsule summary of the four-volume budget, including the Governor's budget message .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We're all militants in different ways. I can't afford the luxury of a completely dogmatic position that says I won't make any compromises, because I'm dealing with the real world.

–Whitney Young

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED